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PREFACE

Volume 44 contains letters, telegrams, notes and other documents written or dictated in the period from October 1917 to November 1920; it supplements the works by Lenin included in volumes 26-31 of this edition.

The documents relating to this period demonstrate Lenin's many-sided activity in building up the new, Soviet machinery of state and ensuring its smooth running, guiding economic and cultural development, and organising the defence of the country.

In these documents Lenin gives directives for defeating counter-revolutionary revolts, ensuring revolutionary order, and defending the world's first proletarian dictatorship. They show Lenin as the organiser and inspirer of the victories over the interventionists and whiteguards. Lenin's instruction to the Red Guard Staff, his letters to the Petrograd Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.), to the Supreme Military Council, to the People's Commissariat for Naval Affairs, to G. V. Chicherin and M. M. Litvinov, to E. M. Sklyansky, the telegrams to the Revolutionary Military Councils of the Eastern and Southern fronts, to the army commanders, to S. I. Gusev, I. T. Smilga, M. M. Lashevich and G. Y. Sokolnikov, and many other documents, are examples of Lenin's activity in leading the struggle against foreign and domestic counter-revolution and guiding the military activities on the fronts of the Civil War.

Volume 44 publishes a letter of Lenin's to the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) dated June 17, 1919, which, like a number of other documents, shows that he regarded the Central Committee of the Party as the body for collective leadership of the country's defence. Lenin set aside Trotsky's objections to the Central Committee's decision to strengthen the General Headquarters, and wrote that this de-

cision contained "what Trotsky overlooked, namely, that the majority of the C.C. is convinced that ... *all is not well* at Headquarters, and *in seeking a serious improvement*, in seeking ways for a *radical change* it has taken a definite *step*" (p. 255 of this volume).

In response to Lenin's call, many of the country's industrial cities sent their best Communists and non-Party workers to the decisive fronts of the Civil War. Lenin constantly followed the progress of mobilisation and the training of reserves for the Red Army. In a letter to the Revolutionary Military Council of the Southern Front recommending a group of Ivanovo-Voznesensk Communists Lenin requested that they should be allocated correctly and carefully. "I particularly ask to be informed of the receipt of this letter," he wrote, "and of where and how the comrades are assigned" (p. 302).

Situated as it was in a hostile capitalist encirclement, the Soviet Republic experienced extreme difficulties. The documents in this volume contain much material on Lenin's leadership of the foreign policy of the Soviet state and show his exceptional perspicacity and profound understanding of the alignment of forces in the international arena. It was only thanks to the tremendous efforts of Lenin, in a stubborn struggle of the Party against Trotsky and the oppositional group of "Left Communists" that the peace treaty with Germany was signed at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918. Its conclusion was a striking example of the wisdom and flexibility of Lenin's tactics, and his ability to frame the solely correct policy in an extremely complicated situation. The signing of the Brest peace and the struggle against the "Left Communists" are dealt with in the letter to Major-General S. I. Odintsov on November 15 (28), 1917, the note to Karl Radek on January 14 (27), 1918, the radio-telegram to the peace delegation on February 25, 1918, the telegram to Irkutsk on February 27, 1918, and other documents.

The Soviet Government headed by Lenin consistently pursued a policy of peace advocated peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. When the imperialists of the Entente began their anti-Soviet armed intervention, the Soviet state repeatedly addressed proposals for

peace to the governments of the United States, Great Britain and France. In the letter to G. V. Chicherin and L. M. Karakhan on October 10, 1918, Lenin wrote: "Regarding the Note to Wilson, I think it should be sent. Write it in detail, politely, but caustically, saying: in any case we consider it our duty to propose peace—even to governments of capitalists and multimillionaires—in order to try to stop the bloodshed and *to open the eyes of the peoples*" (p. 152). The Soviet Government's readiness to enter into peace negotiations with the leaders of the Entente Powers is also stressed in Lenin's letter of May 6, 1919, to Chicherin and Litvinov. Letters to Krasin, Litvinov, Chicherin, and others are devoted to the establishment of trade and economic relations with the capitalist countries. Among them are letters on the negotiations with W. B. Vanderlip, a representative of American business circles (see pp. 423, 442). In one of the letters, Lenin wrote: "trade agreements with the Soviet Republics are more advantageous to the British bourgeoisie than unprofitable and even ruinous attempts to crush them" (pp. 404-05).

Published in this volume is a considerable number of documents showing Lenin's activity in the most diverse fields of the socialist economy: putting the work of nationalised enterprises on a proper footing, organising financial affairs, the utilisation of the co-operative movement for supplying the population, the development of agriculture, the organisation of communes and artels.

The volume contains Lenin's letters elaborating and clarifying the basic principles of the single economic plan endorsed by the Ninth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.). A number of letters are devoted to propaganda for the electrification of the country. Lenin was interested in the coal deposits of Bryansk District, the oil of Ukhta, Berchogur and Cheleken, the exploitation of shales, the use of peat as a basis for electrification. He attached very great significance to the development of engineering, to the speediest introduction of up-to-date achievements in the national economy, to making wide use of scientists and experts. There are documents showing Lenin's interest in the Nizhni-Novgorod Radio Laboratory, which was in fact one of the first scientific research institutes. In the note to N. P.

Gorbunov on October 21, 1918, Lenin wrote: "I earnestly request you to *speed up* as much as possible the Science and Technology Department's findings in regard to the Radio Laboratory. *It is extremely urgent.* Drop me a line when its findings are ready" (p. 156). The telegram to the Porokhovo District Soviet on July 2, 1919, the letters to N. A. Semashko on May 3, 1920, and to A. I. Rykov and I. I. Radchenko on October 28, 1920, and other letters, are indicative of Lenin's attitude to inventions and inventors.

Lenin pointed out that scientists must play a leading part in applying scientific knowledge to the national economy and making use of scientific achievements. The present volume publishes Lenin's letter to Gorky of September 15, 1919, in which he said that the Soviet government highly valued scientists who had resolved to devote their knowledge and labour to the people. He wrote: "To the 'intellectual forces' who want to bring science to the people (and not to act as servants of capital), we pay a salary *above the average*. That is a fact. We take care of them. That is a fact" (p. 285). At the same time he explained to Gorky that the Soviet Government was compelled to take severe measures against those who were involved in counter-revolutionary conspiracies and revolts, which threatened the lives of tens of thousands of workers and peasants.

Lenin repeatedly pointed to the need to put science and ideology at the service of the new socialist order. He sharply criticised the views of the ideologists of Proletcult who oppugned the leading role of the Soviet state and the Party in cultural matters. Everything connected with raising the cultural level of the working people claimed Lenin's attention: the abolition of illiteracy, questions concerning literature, the quality of mass publications, the development of libraries, radio broadcasting, the cinema, etc. One of the main tasks of education during the first years of Soviet rule was the liquidation of illiteracy. "... The struggle against illiteracy is a task *more important than any other*," he wrote in August 1920 (p. 413).

Lenin attached great importance to propaganda and agitation. On receiving a letter from a "group of students interested in communism", he wished them "most speedy success in your study of communism, mastery of it, and

commencement of practical work in the ranks of the Russian Communist Party" (pp. 147-48). Lenin devoted much attention to the realisation of his plan for "monumental propaganda", for decorating the streets of Moscow and Petrograd with revolutionary inscriptions on buildings and with monuments to outstanding leaders of the revolutionary movement and culture.

The Party and government exerted tremendous efforts to rescue the country from the grip of economic chaos and famine. In the letter to A. G. Shlyapnikov on May 28, 1918, Lenin wrote: "The Central Committee has passed a decision *to direct the maximum number* of Party workers to the food front. For *obviously* we shall perish and ruin the *whole* revolution if we do not conquer famine in the next few months" (p. 95). The letter to the Commissariat for Food and to the Food Department of the Supreme Economic Council, the note to the secretary, the telegram to Kharkov and Moscow, the letter to V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko and G. K. Orjonikidze, the telegram to S. V. Malyshev, the telegram to the Revolutionary Military Councils of the 10th and 4th armies, the letter to the Agricultural Section of the Food Department of the Moscow Soviet, and the telegram to the Podolsk Uyezd Food Committee reflect Lenin's activities in the business of supplying food for the Red Army and the population of the industrial centres.

"Petrograd and Moscow are without grain. Heroic measures needed. Wire exact reply immediately," wrote Lenin to V. A. Radus-Zenkovich; Chairman of the Saratov Gubernia Executive Committee, on July 11, 1919 (p. 263). "At all costs provide all workers of the Urals, particularly the Ekaterinburg district, Kizel and other coal-mining districts, with full supplies of essential foodstuffs," was Lenin's instruction to the civil and military authorities of Perm and Ekaterinburg in November 1919 (p. 311). He gave special attention to supplies for children. Supporting the proposals for ensuring food for children, Lenin wrote to Tsyurupa "Perhaps something more could be done for the children? *It should be*" (p. 188).

The letters show how Lenin's principles of Party and state leadership were worked out, and characterise his style of work.

Lenin attached immense importance to collective leadership. As the documents in this volume show, on all important matters he consulted his colleagues and other leading workers and submitted these questions to the Central Committee or the Council of People's Commissars for consideration and decision. "I cannot go against the will and decision of my Council colleagues," he emphasised in a letter to Maria Andreyeva (p. 69). At the same time Lenin considered it essential that collective leadership should be duly combined with the personal responsibility of each worker for the task entrusted to him. On August 26, 1918, he wrote to A. P. Smirnov: "I very much fear that you in Saratov are playing at collegiate methods at a time when the work demands energy and prompt action by responsible executives..." (p. 142). Lenin severely criticised all manifestations of localism, anarchy, indiscipline, or the refusal of one or another staff member to submit to instructions from higher organisations. He taught the executives of administrative and Party bodies to be business-like, quicker on the move in taking decisions, to be able to concentrate attention on the most important task and see each job through to the end.

A number of documents show Lenin's efforts to strengthen revolutionary, socialist legality. In the note to the Commissariat for Justice on April 15, 1918, be stressed the need for codification, for publishing a Collection of Laws and Decrees of the Soviet Government, for expanding propaganda on matters of law among the population, and for drawing the mass of working people into the work of the People's Courts. He pointed to the need for a determined struggle against embezzlement of state property, profiteering and hooliganism; he proposed severe measures of punishment for bribe-takers. Lenin demanded that all Soviet bodies and all the personnel of the state apparatus should strictly observe the laws in force in the Republic. He wrote that the mere suggestion to evade a decree should entail prosecution by the courts. Lenin was quick to react to any information signalising a violation of socialist legality, he issued directives for a deeper study of individual cases, and took vigorous steps to stop responsible workers abusing their official position.

The Communist Party of Soviet Russia acted as a great patriotic and international force. Lenin closely followed the events in Hungary and endeavoured to hearten the Hungarian Communists, who were encountering great difficulties. In a letter to Bela Kun, he wrote: "We are aware of Hungary's grave and dangerous situation and are doing all we can.... Hold on with all your might, victory will be ours" (p. 271). "The communist movement in all countries is growing remarkably. The Soviet system has everywhere become a practical slogan for the working masses. This is a step forward of tremendous world-historic significance." These were the words with which Lenin greeted the Dutch Communists in October 1919 (p. 291). He wrote to Raymond Robins on April 30, 1918: "I am sure the new democracy, that is, the proletarian democracy, is coming in all countries and will crush all obstacles and the imperialist-capitalist system..." (p. 82).

All the documents given in Volume 44 are published in accordance with the Fifth (Russian) Edition of Lenin's *Collected Works* (volumes 50 and 51).

Institute of Marxism-Leninism
of the C.C., C.P.S.U.

1917

1

INSTRUCTION TO THE RED GUARD STAFF[1]

Please take all steps for *immediate* execution.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

Written on October 30 (November 12), 1917

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

2

TO THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.)

To the P.C.

I earnestly request the Petrograd Committee **immediately** to pass a decision against conciliation and to put it before the C.C.[2]

Lenin

Written on November 2 (15), 1917

First published in part in 1960 in the journal *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 2

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50*

Printed from the original

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* All references to the Fifth Edition of Lenin's *Collected Works* have in view the Russian edition.—*Ed.*

3

TO Y. M. SVERDLOV

Comrade *Sverdlov*

The bearer has a mandate from the local Soviet.
He wants to work *in Petrograd*.
Makes an excellent impression.
He wants "militant" work among the masses (as agitator, etc.) .

I *strongly* advise you to give him an opportunity at once to prove his worth in work among the masses in Petrograd.[3]

Lenin

Written not earlier than November 8 (21), 1917

First published in 1957 in the journal *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 5

Printed from the original

4

TO THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR INFORMATION OF THE LABOUR PRESS OF AMERICA, FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN[4]

I am ready to reply to your questions if you give me an absolutely formal and precise guarantee, first, that you will inform the *entire* labour press, i.e., also the press organs of an *internationalist trend* (Heywood, the S.L.P. in America, Tom Mann and the British Socialist Party in Britain, Loriot and his friends in France, etc.), and secondly, that my reply will be reproduced *without any alterations*, that is to say, you have the right not to publish my reply, but if you do publish it you have no right to change anything in my text.

Who is the responsible representative of your "International Association" here, in London, New York and Paris?

Lenin

Written in November prior to 10 (23), 1917

First published on January 26, 1960, in French (in facsimile) and Rumanian in the newspaper *Scînteia* No. 4740, Bucharest

First published in Russian on January 27, 1960 in the newspaper *Pravda* No. 27

Printed from the original
Translated from the French

5

TO MAJOR-GENERAL S. I. ODINTSOV

You have proposed to me the organisation of a group of staff officers and generals who have a higher military education and who wish to work out the military and technical problems of an armistice that would permit Russia, without violation of her interests, to secure the suspension of hostilities.

In view of the extreme urgency of this matter, I would earnestly request you to get your group together at once, tomorrow morning, and to send me tomorrow evening at least a brief outline of the main problems, points and provisions of an armistice agreement (demarcation of the front line, stipulation that no troops be moved to other fronts, control measures, etc., etc.), and also to indicate the person or persons who would be fully competent to take part directly in the negotiations.

Please send me a reply by messenger.

Written on November 15 (28), 1917

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the text of the telegraph tape

6

TO THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.)

To the P.C.

Can one of the comrades write and tell me whether a resolution on courts of law was adopted yesterday in the Petrograd Soviet and what has been done *practically*?[5]

Lenin

Written on November 25 (December 8), 1917

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the text of the telegraph tape

7

TELEGRAM TO THE ARMY IN THE FIELD

Semennik, Chairman of the Committee of units
not included in the divisions of the 21st Army Corps
The Army in the Field

Landed estates together with live and dead stock shall be handed over to the land committees. They must be strictly safeguarded as the property of the people.

Lenin

Written on November 26
(December 9), 1917

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the text
of the telegraph tape

8

TO THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.)

The Hanecki affair

On the question of Hanecki, the narrow C.C. has passed a decision *not to appoint* him as representative in Stockholm.

That is to say, it *rescinded* the previous decision of the C.C.

I propose that this decision be countermanded on the following grounds.

What are the arguments against Hanecki?

He is known since 1903; a member of the Polish C.C. who worked for many years as a C.C. member; we saw his work in Cracow, his trips to Russia, etc., we saw him at all congresses, etc., etc.

The arguments are merely a campaign of bourgeois slanders, Zaslavsky's outcries.

It would be quite unworthy of a workers' party to show such credulity to intellectualist scandal. Let *someone* prove anything bad about Hanecki first, before we remove him.

"But Hanecki traded with Parvus," they "all" say.

Hanecki earned his living as an *employee* in a commercial firm of which Parvus was a shareholder. That is what Hanecki told me. It has not been refuted.

Is it forbidden to work in capitalist commercial undertakings? Where? By what decision of the Party?

Are there no people among us who work in commercial firms of *Russian*, British and other capitalists?

Or is it permissible to be a technician, a manager or an employee of *Russian* capitalists, but not of *German*, even when living in a neutral country?? And is that to be the decision of an "internationalist" party??

Let it decide frankly, let it pass a general resolution, let it give grounds for the step taken against Hanecki.

When Bukharin wanted to go and work in Parvus's business as a *writer*, we dissuaded him, for after all it is not a commercial firm. But while we *dissuaded* him, we did not denounce the *Mensheviks*[6] in Parvus's employ. We did not denounce Zurabov and a host of others, we did not accuse them.

Who accused them, and where?

Why is it that *up to now* we have not questioned the *Mensheviks* and others who lived in Copenhagen and knew of Hanecki's commercial occupation and who did *not* condemn him? We could and should have done that.

Not a single fact against Hanecki has been established, no ban has been passed on being employed in capitalist commercial firms of all countries, no check has been made on the rumours and slanders of *notorious* slanderers like Zaslavsky—yet the man is to be "removed"?? There is nothing here but "fear" of the slanders of irresponsible slanderers.

It is unworthy of a working-class party to be so credulous of scandal. If the comrades who succumb to scandal are "perturbed", "worried", why shouldn't they *exert themselves* a little? Isn't it better to take some pains to find the truth than to repeat scandal? In Petrograd itself it is possible (if a perturbed comrade wants to go to same trouble and not decide things offhand) to find *witnesses* from Copenhagen, and in Moscow too. Why don't the anonymous accusers of Hanecki in the ranks of our Party do that??

Such treatment of an absent comrade, who has worked for more than ten years, is the height of **injustice.**

Written in November, not later than 29 (December 12), 1917
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

9

TELEGRAM TO THE COMMITTEE FOR ELECTIONS TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY[7]

Pskov

I remain a deputy of the Baltic Fleet and request you to replace me by the next candidate on the Bolshevik list.*

Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

Written on November 30 (December 13), 1917
First published in 1958 in the journal *Sovetsky Moryak* No. 5
Printed from the text of the telegraph form

10

TO THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.)

8. XII. 1917

To the P.C.

Please send not less than 100 persons, absolutely reliable Party members, to room No. 75, second floor—the Committee to Combat Looting. (For performance of commissar duties.)[8]

The matter is extremely important. The Party is responsible. Approach the districts and factories.

Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on December 8 (21), 1917
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

* Similarly worded telegrams were sent to Petrograd and Moscow.—*Ed.*

11

TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO

Comrade Antonov, who is leaving for Moscow and from there for the south to conduct military operations against Kaledin,[9] is obliged *every day*, by direct line (personally or through an aide), to inform the Council of People's Commissars *whom* precisely he, or other military authorities, appoints as *responsible* persons for directing particular operations, especially as regards movement and mustering of troops and command.

Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on December 8 (21), 1917
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from
the typewritten text

12

TO G. I. BLAGONRAVOV AND V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

8. XII. 1917

Comrades Blagonravov and Bonch-Bruyevich

The arrests which have to be carried out on the orders of Comrade Peters are of *exceptionally* great importance and must be executed with great energy.* *Special* measures must be taken to prevent destruction of papers, flight, concealment of documents, etc.

Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on December 8 (21), 1917
First published in part in 1960
in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 6
Published in full in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

* This refers to the arrest of counter-revolutionaries.—*Ed.*

13
TELEGRAM TO V. V. VOROVSKY

Vorovsky
Stockholm

Urgently find and send here three highly skilled accountants to work on reform of the banks. Knowledge of Russian is not essential. Fix their remuneration yourself in accordance with local conditions.

Lenin

Written in December after 8 (21), 1917

First published on November 6-7, 1927, in the newspaper *Izvestia* No. 256

Printed from the text of the telegraph form

14
TO V. V. OBOLENSKY

18. XII. 1917

Comrade Obolensky,

I recommend to you the bearer, Comrade Solovyov (telephone 265-24), an expert on the oil industry and the author of a plan for nationalisation. He should be used!

V. Ulyanov

I gave his memorandum (on the oil industry) to Shlyapnikov. *There is* a copy *for you too* (Shlyapnikov has it).[10]

Written on December 18 (31), 1917

First published in part in 1958 in the book: *O deyatelnosti V. I. Lenina v 1917-1922* (Activities of V. I. Lenin in 1917-1922), Moscow

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

15
TO P. A. KOZMIN

20. XII. 1917

Comrade Kozmin,

I was expecting you yesterday for a talk about the case of the delegates from the No. 2 Steel Plant at Kamenskaya

stanitsa. They ask that financing should be stopped and the commission withdrawn, since they regard it as reactionary and parasitic. If we do not see each other this evening, please telephone me.[11]

Lenin

Written on December 20, 1917
(January 2, 1918)

First published in November 1927 in the journal *Sovetskoye Mukomolye i Khlebopecheniye* No. 8

Printed from the original

16
TO CHARLES DUMAS[12]

21/XII—1917

Dear Citizen Charles Dumas,

My wife and I recall with great pleasure the time we met you in Paris, rue Bonier. We are very grateful to you for the exchange of ideas and for the very accurate information on the socialist movement in France.

I very much regret that personal relations between us became impossible after such profound political differences divided us. Throughout the war I fought against the "national defence" trend, I always stood for a split, being convinced that that tendency was ruining socialism completely.

It goes without saying that I am writing this letter not as a member of the government but as a private individual.

Please accept our greetings, dear citizen, and best wishes from my wife and myself.

Lenin

Written on December 21, 1917
(January 3, 1918)

First published on March 6, 1959, in French in *The Times Literary Supplement* (London) No. 2975

First published in Russian on April 14-20, 1963, in *Nedelya*, Sunday Supplement of *Izvestia*, No. 16

Printed from the text
Translated from the French

17

TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO

The Council of People's Commissars is confident that Comrade Antonov will continue as before to act in close contact with the central Ukrainian Soviet authorities who were greeted by the Council of People's Commissars, and with the Commissar Extraordinary appointed by the C.P.C.[13]

Written on December 30, 1917
(January 12, 1918)

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

1918

18
TELEGRAM TO L. M. KARAKHAN*

Karakhan
Russian Peace Delegation
Brest-Litovsk
Copy to Supreme Commander-in-Chief Krylenko

I received your telegram concerning the report from the members of the Revolutionary Committee of the 8th Army —Kuzmin and Reizon.[14] I am passing this telegram on to the Commander-in-Chief with my advice: not to give way to the provocation of the Kiev Rada, not to trust it, and to act in an armed, organised and most resolute way against the Rumanian counter-revolutionary command, against the Kaledinites and their accomplices in the Kiev Rada.

Lenin

Written on January 3 (16), 1918

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the text of the telegraph tape

19
INSTRUCTION

The soldier and sailor comrades on guard duty within the precincts of the Taurida Palace are instructed not to allow any violence towards the counter-revolutionary part

* Transmitted by direct line.—*Ed.*

of the Constituent Assembly and, while permitting all to freely leave the Taurida Palace, not to let anyone in without special orders.[15]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars*

Written on the night of January 5 (18), 1918
Published on January 12 (25), in the newspaper *Russkiye Vedomosti* No. 5
Printed from the original

20

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR JUSTICE

I have just received a report that last night sailors entered the Mariinskaya hospital and killed Shingaryov and Kokoshkin. I order you immediately: first, to begin a rigorous investigation; secondly, to arrest the sailors guilty of this murder.[16]

Lenin

Written on January 7 (20), 1918
Published on January 8 (21), 1918, in *Pravda* (evening edition) No. 6
Printed from the typewritten copy

21

TO K. A. MEKHONOSHIN

7. I. 1918

Comrade Mekhonoshin

The bearer, Comrade Rahja, is an old Party functionary, personally known to me and absolutely trustworthy. It is *extremely* important to help him (for the Finnish proletar-

* The document was signed also by M. S. Uritsky, Commissar of the All-Russia Committee for Elections to the Constituent Assembly and member of the Extraordinary Commission for the Defence of Petrograd.—*Ed.*

iat) by supplying weapons: some 10,000 rifles with cartridges and 10 three-inch guns with shells.

Please fulfil this without reducing the figures.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on January 7 (20), 1918

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

22

INSTRUCTION TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

Instruction

Notify the sailors of the Guards Depot (taking signed statements from them that they have been so informed) that they are answerable for the lives of the arrested officers and that they, the sailors, will be deprived of food rations, arrested and prosecuted.

Take urgent measures: (1) for sending a well-armed guard to the building; (2) for recording as many as possible of the names of the Guards Depot sailors.[17]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written in January, not earlier than 8 (21), 1918

First published in 1930 in the book: Vladimir Bonch-Bruyevich, *Na boyevykh postakh Fevralskoi i Oktyabrskoi revolyutsii* (At the Fighting Posts of the February and October Revolutions), Moscow

Printed from the original

23

TO THE COMMISSARIAT FOR FOOD AND THE FOOD DEPARTMENT OF THE SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL[18]

13. I. 1918

The bearers, Comrades Suvorov and Antropov, are delegates of the Regional Committee of the Urals Soviets.

It is necessary to authorise them to adopt the most revolutionary measures to ensure the movement to Petrograd of railway trucks with grain from Siberia.

Lenin

Written on January 13 (26), 1918
First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*
Printed from the original

24
NOTE TO THE SECRETARY

To be given to Schlichter and Nevsky with the request that they assist *with the utmost energy* these people, who make an excellent impression, for only such contingents (40-60 persons from the locality) are able to save us from famine.

Lenin

Written on January 13 (26), 1918
First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*
Printed from the original

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

25
TELEGRAM TO KHARKOV AND MOSCOW

Orjonikidze, People's Secretariat, Antonov's Staff,
Kharkov
Commander-in-Chief Muralov
Presidium of the Soviet of Deputies
Moscow

We have received news of a traffic jam between Orel and Kursk preventing the passage of trains with coal and grain. Any hold-up threatens famine and stoppage of industry. We suspect sabotage by railwaymen in this locality for there have been several cases of sabotage there. We urgently ask you to take the most ruthless revolutionary measures. We ask you to send out a detachment

of absolutely reliable persons. Use all means to ensure the movement of trucks with grain to Petrograd, otherwise there is a threat of famine. Place several sailors or Red Guards on each of the locomotives. Remember that it depends on you to save Petrograd from famine.

Lenin

Written on January 13 (26), 1918
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the text in Gorbunov's handwriting

26
TO KARL RADEK

14. I. 1918

Dear Radek,

Trotsky or Kamenev will inform you of my point of view. I fundamentally and radically disagree with you. You are falling into the trap which the imperialists of both groups are setting the Republic of Soviets.[19]

With best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written on January 14 (27), 1918
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original
Translated from the German

27
TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO AND G. K. ORJONIKIDZE

15. I. 1918

Antonov and Sergo
Kharkov

For God's sake, take the *most* energetic and *revolutionary* measures to send *grain*, *grain* and *more grain*!!! Otherwise Petrograd may perish. Special trains and detachments.

Grain collection and delivery. Have the trains convoyed. Report daily.

For God's sake!

Lenin

Written on January 15 (28), 1918

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

28

TO N. I. PODVOISKY AND N. V. KRYLENKO*

15. I. 1918

Comrade Podvoisky and Comrade Krylenko

I received the enclosed letter today from the Dutch comrade *Luteraan*, a member of the Left "Tribunist" Party.[20] I made his acquaintance in 1915 in Berne.

Luteraan asks to be given money for his journey and to be enrolled in Russia's Red Guard.

On grounds of principle I would request you to do what he asks. Perhaps he could be enrolled temporarily among the Letts or Estonians who speak German, until he has learnt Russian.[21]

Lenin

Written on January 15 (28), 1918

First published in part in 1957 in the book: Y. Yerykalov, *Krasnaya Gvardia v borbe za vlast Sovetov* (The Red Guard in the Struggle for Soviet Power), Moscow

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

29

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR MILITARY AFFAIRS

17. I. 1918

Please issue to the Commissar of the Finlandskaya Railway 25,000 rifles and 30 machine-guns, required for the

* Lenin made the following note on the document: "B. Luteraan. Oostenburgermiddenstraat 59III, Amsterdam. Holland."—*Ed.*

protection of Russian soldiers in Finland against the atrocities of whiteguard bourgeois detachments.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on January 17 (30), 1918
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

30

TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO

Antonov
Kharkov

I congratulate you on your victory.[22] I shall immediately transmit your demand to Moscow. Direct all efforts towards sending grain and more grain to Petrograd.

Lenin

Written on January 17 (30), 1918
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the text of the telegraph tape

31

TELEGRAM TO KULLERVO MANNER AND KARL VIIK

Urgent. Governmental

Prime Minister Manner
and Karl Viik
Helsingfors

Radio transmissions in Swedish and telegrams on behalf of the unions of Swedish workers in Finland should be sent to Sweden as frequently and in as great detail as possible in order to refute the extremely mendacious reports of the Swedish bourgeois press about the events in Fin-

land.[23] Please let me know whether you are taking all measures.

Lenin

Written on January 24
(February 6, 1918)

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

32
TELEGRAM TO ARTHUR HENDERSON[24]

The Russian Socialist Government regrets inability to participate in the Allied Socialist Conference as being contrary to the principles of Internationalism. We object to division of the working class according to Imperialist grouping. If British Labour agrees to Russian peace aims, which are already accepted by the Socialist parties of the Central Powers, such division is still more unwarranted.

Written on January 24
(February 6, 1918)
Sent to London

Published on February 14,
1918, in English in the newspaper
The Call No. 97

Printed from
the newspaper text
Written in English

First published in Russian
in 1965 in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

33
TELEGRAM TO GENERAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE SUPREME COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF*

Use all methods available to you to cancel today's telegram on peace and general demobilisation of the armies on all fronts. By order of Lenin.[25]

Written on January 29
(February 11, 1918)

First published in 1964
in the book: A. L. Fraiman,
Revolyutsionnaya zashchita Petrograda v fevrale-marte 1918
(The Revolutionary Defence
of Petrograd in February-March
1918), Moscow-Leningrad

Printed from the text
of the telegraph tape

* Transmitted by direct line by Lenin's secretary.—*Ed.*

34

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE SUPREME COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF*

Notify all army commissars and Bonch-Bruyevich that all telegrams signed by Trotsky and Krylenko on demobilisation of the army are to be held up. We cannot give you the peace terms, since peace really has not yet been concluded. Please hold up all telegrams reporting peace until you receive special permission.

Written on January 30
(February 12, 1918)

First published in 1964
in the book: A. L. Fraiman,
Revolyutsionnaya zashchita Petrograda v fevrale-marte 1918,
Moscow-Leningrad

Printed from the text
of the telegraph tape

35

TO A. L. KOLEGAYEV

30. I. 1918

Comrade Kolegayev,

Please help the bearers (the First Russian Society of Communist Agricultural Workers) with advice and directives as to how and *where* to obtain land. Their initiative is excellent; support it in every way.[26]

Lenin

Written on January 30
(February 12, 1918)

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

36

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

30. I. 1918

Comrade Zinoviev,

Please send on *Sunday* at two o'clock a suitable comrade from the Petrograd Soviet to the meeting of the Obukhov

* Transmitted by direct line. The text of this telegram is reproduced in the telegram of the Main Naval Headquarters to Centrobalt (the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Sailors of the Baltic Fleet).—*Ed.*

workers, who have formed the First Russian Society of Communist Agricultural Workers, to give directives, advice and help.

It would be good to select an *experienced* practical organiser.

Lenin

Written on January 30
(February 12, 1918)

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

37

TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO

Commander-in-Chief Antonov
Nikitovka

Petrol shortage threatens to bring the mines to a standstill; it will be impossible to pump out the water. We urgently ask you, if there is the slightest military possibility, to send all petrol to the mines, at the disposal of the Kharkov Regional Economic Council, 27 Sumskaya.

Lenin

Written on January 30
(February 12, 1918)

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

38

TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO

Commander-in-Chief Antonov
Nikitovka*

We have nothing against the appointment of Kozhevnikov. Make contact with Obolensky and the All-Ukraine

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* The address and sentences: "We have nothing against" and "Do not act without agreement with Obolensky and the C.E.C." were written in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

C.E.C. Do not act without agreement with Obolensky and the C.E.C.; if there are no objections on their part, we agree to the appointment of Kozhevnikov as Commissar Extraordinary of the Donets Basin.

Lenin

Written on January 30
(February 12, 1918)
First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the text
written by Lenin and Stalin
and signed by Lenin

39

INSTRUCTION TO THE SECRETARY

Give this telegram to Chicherin and request him urgently to send an inquiry and protest to the Swedish Ambassador.[27]

Lenin

Written on February 14, 1918
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

40

TELEGRAM TO KULLERVO MANNER

Urgent

Manner
People's Government of Finland
Helsingfors

Governmental. *Secret*

I request you immediately to obtain information from Centrobalt regarding the arrival of Swedish cruisers at Öland and the landing of troops by the Swedes. Be so kind as to let me know by telegraph as quickly as possible what information the Finnish Workers' Government has about

this and what its attitude is to this whole matter and to the intervention of Swedish armed forces.[28]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on February 14, 1918
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

41

RADIO-TELEGRAM TO CENTROBALT

Can the report really be true that Swedish warships came to Öland Island, landed a detachment and forced our men to retreat? What military measures of defence and counteraction has Centrobalt taken? What warships has it sent to Öland, and when precisely?

Reply immediately. We are extremely concerned. We refuse to believe that Centrobalt and our revolutionary fleet have been inactive. I await a reply.

Lenin

Written on the night of February 14, 1918
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50
Printed from the text of the telegraph tape

42

TELEGRAM TO E. V. LUGANOVSKY, PEOPLE'S SECRETARY OF THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC

People's Secretary Luganovsky
Kharkov

Today Podvoisky, People's Commissar for Military Affairs, sent the following telegram to Kudinsky:

"In accordance with the plenary powers given to you, you are to carry out the following: on the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Re-

public your activities must be exactly co-ordinated with those of the Ukrainian Soviet authorities, hence your extraordinary plenary powers as regards the subordination of particular organs of power apply exclusively to the gubernias of Bryansk, Smolensk, Vitebsk, Orel, Voronezh and Tula."

I hope that you will be satisfied with this and that Kudinsky will comply.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on February 15, 1918

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

43

TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF THE DON REGION

Governmental. **Secret**

Chairman of the Regional M.R.C. of the Don Region
Voronezh

Have received your telegram of 31/I* concerning the capture of Shakhtnaya and Kamenolomni. I congratulate the Soviet troops on their success. I particularly thank you for the news of the dispatch of 60 waggons of coal through Tsaritsyn and earnestly request you to inform us by telegraph of the numbers of trains with coal and grain and the precise days and hours of dispatch. It is extremely important. Send more grain. The letter of Alexeyev's spy has not yet been received. Send it by hand through a very reliable person, after taking a photograph of it.[29]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on February 16, 1918

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

* February 13, 1918, new style.—*Ed*.

44
TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO

Governmental

Commander-in-Chief Antonov
Nikitovka

I have received the telegram concerning the appointment of Falkovsky by you. I insistently ask you to act only in full agreement with Luganovsky and in compliance with his directives as People's Secretary of the sovereign Ukrainian Republic. If disagreement with him arises, settle it through Skrypnik, Zatonsky, Bosh, in the last resort wire me, but never gainsay Luganovsky. The rich stores of the Rumanian Government must be very strictly guarded so that they can be turned over intact to the Rumanian people after the overthrow of the Rumanian counter-revolution.

Lenin

Written on February 17, 1918
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

45
TO A. I. RYKOV

Rykov

1st, are there inventory data
(1) where (*addresses*) are the goods?
(2) *who precisely* (names and addresses) has all these goods?
2nd, where (by whom, when?) was the order made for their safeguarding?
Who is responsible for their safekeeping?
3rd, *who* is responsible for their proper (rationed, *by cards*) distribution?

4th, *what* has been done (*by whom?*) for the *free distribution* to the poor of part of these and the whole amount of confiscated products?[30]

Written in February, after 18, 1918

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

46

NOTE TO V. N. PODBELSKY IN MOSCOW BY DIRECT LINE, FEBRUARY 22, 1918[31]

I have no new verified information apart from the report that the Germans, generally speaking, are steadily advancing because they do not encounter resistance. I consider the situation extremely grave and the slightest delay on our part is impermissible. As regards the report about Austria-Hungary not taking part in the war, I personally, unlike Trotsky, do not consider it verified; they say the radio has been intercepted and there were telegrams about this from Stockholm, but I have not seen such documents.

Lenin

Izvestia of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies of Moscow City and Moscow Region No. 31, February 23 (10), 1918

Printed from the text of the telegraph tape

47

TO THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.)

Please include my vote *in favour of* getting potatoes and arms from the bandits of Anglo-French imperialism.[32]

Lenin

Written on February 22, 1918

First published in 1922 in *Collected Works* of N. Lenin (V. Ulyanov), Vol. XV

Printed from the original

48

RADIO-TELEGRAM TO THE PEACE DELEGATION

Chicherin, Joffe, Karakhan, Sokolnikov
Novoselye Railway Station
Peace Delegation

We do not quite understand your telegram. If you are wavering, it is impermissible.[33] Send envoys and try to reach the Germans quickly.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on February 25, 1918
First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*
Printed from the original

49

TELEGRAM TO IRKUTSK

Peace has not yet been signed, but a delegation has gone to Brest-Litovsk to sign the peace terms accepted by the C.E.C. and the C.P.C. Your resolution received. The German whiteguards and composite units of their regular army have joined with our whiteguards and are advancing on Petrograd with brazen audacity. A movement of large German forces in the wake of the advance detachments has been reported. Most of our troops are in flight.* The socialist fatherland is in danger. Dvinsk, Reval, Venden, Volmar, Minsk, Pskov have been taken. Our morale is good. Masses of workers have sprung to the defence of the Soviet Republic. The C.C. of the Bolsheviks is in favour of signing peace. The C.C. of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries[34] is in favour of a holy war.

As for gold, we recommend that the workers at the mines be paid at cost prices. There has been no special decree by the C.P.C. on gold.

Lenin

Written on February 27, 1918
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the text in Gorbunov's hand with an addition by Lenin

* The two preceding sentences are in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

50
TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY

4/III (19/II). 1918

Comrade Dzerzhinsky,

The bearer, Sidorenko, was my personal secretary for some days. I was quite satisfied with him. He was dismissed on account of an incident when, being drunk, he shouted, as I have been informed, that he was "Lenin's secretary".

Sidorenko tells me that he deeply regrets it. And personally I am inclined to believe him; the lad is young and, in my opinion, very good. One must be lenient to youth.

On the basis of all these facts, judge for yourself, and see what place you can find for him.

Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

51
TO MARIA ANDREYEVA

Maria Fyodorovna,

Unfortunately, my colleagues (in the Council) consider it impossible for me to permit a meeting (bypassing the investigating commission), all the more so since medical aid (in case of illness) is available.

I cannot go against the will and decision of my Council colleagues.

Just now it is absolutely impossible for me to have a talk with you, as I *cannot* tear myself away. I will write you about the case of the "provocateur and black-

mailer" (*obviously* he was a **blackmailer**: Kartashov has long been *in prison*, I have made inquiries).

I beg you to excuse me.

All the best,
Lenin

Written after March 12, 1918
but prior to September 1919

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

52
TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE

Comrade Sergo,

I beg you to pay serious attention to the Crimea and the Donets Basin with a view to creating a united fighting front against invasion from the West. Impress upon the Crimean comrades that the course of events makes defence imperative for them and that they must defend themselves irrespective of ratification of the peace treaty. Make them realise that the position of the north is substantially different from that of the south, and in view of the war, the actual war of the Germans against the Ukraine, help on the part of the Crimea, which (the Crimea) the Germans can gobble up in passing, is not only an act of neighbourly duty, but a requirement for self-defence and self-preservation. It is possible that Slutsky, failing to grasp the complexity of the present situation, has taken some other, simplified line of his own—in which case he must be put in his place in my name. Immediate evacuation of grain and metals to the east, organisation of demolition groups, the creation of a united front of defence from the Crimea to Great Russia, drawing in the peasants, a decisive and unqualified transformation Ukrainian-wise of our units in the Ukraine—these are the present tasks. Antonov should be forbidden to call himself Antonov-Ovseyenko—he must call himself simply Ovseyenko. The same applies to Muravyov (if he remains in his post) and others.

As regards the Donets Republic, tell Comrades Vasil-

chenko, Zhakov and others that however much they may contrive to keep their region apart from the Ukraine, it—judging from the geography of Vinnichenko—will all the same be included in the Ukraine and the Germans will proceed to conquer it. In view of this, it is quite absurd for the Donets Republic to refuse a united defence front with the rest of the Ukraine. Mezhlauk was in Petrograd and he agreed to recognise the Donets Basin as an autonomous part of the Ukraine; Artyom has also agreed to this; therefore the obstinacy of some comrades from the Donets Basin takes on the appearance of an entirely inexplicable and harmful whim which is absolutely impermissible in our Party midst.

Bring this home to the comrades of the Crimea and Donbas, Comrade Sergo, and get a united defence front set up.

Lenin

14 (1). III. 1918

As regards money, arrange to issue what is essential for defence, but be extremely cautious; give it only into the most reliable hands and under the strictest control, as there are lots of people these days who are eager to grab or to throw money away.*

First published in part in 1957
in the book: *Istoria grazhdanskoi voiny v SSSR. 1917-1922*
(The History of the Civil War
in the U.S.S.R. 1917-1922), Vol. 3
Published in full in 1960
in the book: *Iz istorii grazhdanskoi voiny v SSSR*, Vol. 1

Printed from the text
in Stalin's hand
with an addition by Lenin

53

TO THE POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS BOARD

26. III. 1918

Please inform me:

(1) Is there a work-time schedule operating in the telegraph department under which a person does 24 hours' duty and then gets three days off?

* The signature, date and last sentence are in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

(2) If so, when was this introduced and by whose order or decision? Please send in the full text and the names of those responsible for it.

(3) What measures, and when and by whom, have been taken to abolish such an obviously incorrect and impermissible work schedule.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

54

TELEGRAM TO THE SOVNARKOM OF THE PETROGRAD LABOUR COMMUNE[35]

Governmental
Urgent
Report receipt
28. III. 1918

Sovnarkom of the Petrograd Labour Commune
Smolny, Petrograd
Copies to Shlyapnikov, Chairman of the Evacuation Commission, and to Gorbunov, Secretary of the C.P.C.

I have received Gorbunov's memorandum. I strongly protest against the delay in the evacuation of industry.[36] Larin and Milyutin have no right to alter the decision. If anyone is dissatisfied with my order, let him complain to the C.P.C. or C.E.C., but until my order is cancelled its fulfilment is obligatory. I am particularly indignant at the milliards' worth of stores on Gutuyev Island being left untouched. That is disgraceful. The evacuation of these stores must be begun at all costs and carried out in the speediest manner.[37] The Sovnarkom to send in twice weekly precise reports on what has actually been done for the evacuation and how many truck-loads have been evacuated.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

55

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

There are evidently persons sitting here who have been invited for a *different* question.

They need not be sent away.

But I reprimand you and the other secretaries; you have been told a hundred times that people are to be invited *only* for the question that concerns them.

Written in March-April 1918

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

56

TO LYDIA FOTIEVA

You have not been "bullied", but, on the contrary, treated too leniently.

1) Have all the secretaries sign a notice that *during sessions* of the C.P.C. **only** notes may be handed up, but talk is forbidden.

2) Post up a similar notice in the Secretariat.

Written not earlier than March 1918 and not later than September 1919

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

57

TELEGRAM TO THE SOVNARKOM OF THE PETROGRAD LABOUR COMMUNE

Chairman of the Sovnarkom
of the Petrograd Labour Commune

In accordance with your statement by telephone we expect the immediate and formal withdrawal of the Red Guard detachments, which, though few in number, entered

Finland against the wishes of the Soviet authorities. We insist that a formal decision to this effect should be passed by the Sovnarkom of the Petrograd Commune. We urgently request to be informed immediately of the full text of this decision.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on April 1, 1918
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the text of the telegraph form

58

CONVERSATION WITH V. V. KUIBYSHEV BY DIRECT LINE

Kuibyshev, Chairman of the Soviet of Deputies, on the line in Samara

Comrade Lenin, Dutov's forces have again become active in Orenburg; a report has been received that Cossack detachments are advancing within twenty versts of Orenburg. Iletsk is encircled by Cossacks. The Cossacks are mobilising all the villages; they are committing terrible atrocities, three members of the Executive Committee, and Zakharov, Chairman of the Cossack Section of the Soviet, have been killed. The bourgeoisie of Orenburg is actively participating. Orenburg requests the Council of People's Commissars to help uproot this Dutov adventure, otherwise there will again be a blockage, which will cause the death through famine of 12,000,000 inhabitants of Turkestan. One detachment sent from Orenburg to Iletsk was surrounded and wiped out to a man; government commissar Tsvilling is believed to have been killed. Samara will strain all efforts to help Orenburg, but the local forces are insufficient to liquidate Dutov's bands completely; help from the centre is essential. I have finished and await a reply.

I shall take all steps immediately to notify the military authorities and give you assistance.

Lenin

Written in April, not earlier than 2 and not later than 4, 1918
First published on January 26, 1935, in *Pravda* No. 25
Printed from the original

59

TELEGRAM TO THE C.E.C. OF THE SOVIETS OF SIBERIA

I fully approve the resolution of Centrosibir.[38] I advise you to prepare stores of foodstuffs and other products even if by requisitioning, in order to build up a serious defence. Our talks with the ambassadors should begin today.[39] It is clear now that no trust can be put in assurances and the only serious guarantee lies in solid military preparations on our part.

Lenin

Written on April 5, 1918
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the typewritten copy

60

TO THE C.E.C. OF THE SOVIETS OF SIBERIA

I have received Yakovlev's memorandum.[40] I approve the plans of preparation and mobilisation. If they advance, offer resistance. I have passed it on to the Commissariat for Military Affairs. We shall try to help by sending money although our difficulties are extremely great.

Please send information more frequently.

Lenin

Written on April 6, 1918
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

61

TO Y. M. SVERDLOV AND S. P. SEREDA

8. IV. 1918

Comrade Sverdlov
and Comrade Sereda

The bearer, Comrade Kharlov, who has been working for eleven months in the peasant Soviets of Pskov Gubernia,

is an agronomist by speciality with five years' practical experience. A member of the Bolshevik Party since 1905 (he has been on the books in Petrograd, Vasilyevsky Island, since March 1917). Please have a talk with him about work in the Commissariat for Agriculture and his possible participation in it.

Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI* — Printed from the original

62

TO D. P. BOGOLEPOV AND A. D. TSYURUPA

10. IV. 1918

Comrade Bogolepov
(Deputy Commissar for Finance)
Comrade Tsyurupa
(or Comrade Bryukhanov)

The bearers of this note, representatives of the *Pskov* Gubernia Soviet, have so far been unable to obtain the food and financial assistance they are so badly in need of. The situation in Pskov Gubernia (especially owing to the German invasion; *about one-ninth of the gubernia* has been occupied) is desperate. I ask you most earnestly to consider what extraordinary measures you can adopt to help them, and to telephone me to talk it over.

Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI* — Printed from the original

63

TO THE COMMISSARIAT FOR JUSTICE

I request the members of the Board of the Commissariat for Justice (preferably *all of them*) to visit me (we can agree on the day and time) for a talk about the following:

1) what precisely has been done for publishing a Collection of Laws and Decrees,

2)—for codification,
3)—for ensuring speedier and more ruthless court action against the bourgeoisie, embezzlers of state property, etc.,
4)—for juridical propaganda among the population, among the workers and poor peasants
(a) in printed form;
(b) by lectures (or classes, and so on),
5)—for drawing the poor into the work of court proceedings (jurors) and investigation,
6)—for using Shreider's personnel and others.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on April 15, 1918
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*
Printed from the original

64

TO THE SOVIET AND WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS OF RYBINSK[41]

Comrade Dyrenkov's account of the measures taken by him in Rybinsk to tighten work discipline and of the support for them on the part of the workers has shown me that the Rybinsk comrades are correctly tackling the most important and most urgent tasks of the day, and I ask the representatives of Soviet power and workers' organisations in the city of Rybinsk to accept my wishes for still more energetic efforts and the achievement of the greatest successes in this field.

Vladimir Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written in April, not earlier than 15, 1918
Published on May 16 (29), 1918 in *Izvestia* of the Rybinsk Soviet of Workers' Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies No. 105
Printed from the newspaper text

65

TO D. P. BOGOLEPOV AND I. E. GUKOVSKY

16. IV. 1918

Comrades Bogolepov and Gukovsky

I send you the draft of a law on shares. *I want you urgently* and *without fail* to

1) discuss it,

2) make *your* corrections,

3) *immediately* invite to the discussion specialists known to you (ask them for their opinion—preferably in writing); from the professors you can *order* a commentary,

4) all this needs to be completed *by tomorrow*, for tomorrow, 17. IV, we have to *endorse* the decree in the C.P.C.[42]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

66

TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NIZHNI-NOVGOROD SOVIET

Chairman of the Soviet
Nizhni-Novgorod

According to a statement of the Commissar for Finance, obstacles are being put in the way of a complete inspection of the State Bank appointed by him and the control bodies. I direct that every facility be afforded for a complete and thoroughgoing inspection of the State Bank and assistance given to the inspectors. Please let me know by telegram that the inspectors have been given full opportunity to discharge their duties.*

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on April 17, 1918

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original Gorbunov's handwriting, added to and signed by Lenin

* The text from the words "Please let me know" is in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

67

TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SIMBIRSK SOVIET*

Chairman of the Soviet
Simbirsk

Inform me by telegram of the circumstances and conditions of election of heads of Chuvash teachers' seminaries for men and women. I am interested in the fate of Inspector Ivan Yakovlevich Yakovlev, who has worked for fifty years for the advance of the Chuvash people and suffered persecution from tsarism. I think Yakovlev should not be torn away from his life's work.[43]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on April 20, 1918

First published on January 19, 1928, in the newspaper *Proletarsky Put* (Ulyanovsk) No. 16

Printed from the original

68

TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS[44]

21. IV. 1918

The Narrow Council

In the affair concerning the reorganisation of the Red Cross, which has become known to me through V. M. Bonch-Bruyevich, I strongly advise:

1) that *written* explanations be demanded
   (a) from all members of the committee (§ 3, section I),
   (b) from all departments, which *should* have sent representatives—

* At the top of the document Lenin wrote: "Please send the bill for this telegram to me *personally*."—*Ed.*

—explanations as to when the committee met, where its minutes are, etc.

It is necessary not only to admonish, *but to prosecute* a number of persons (they must be found) for non-fulfilment of the decree.

Lenin

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

69

TELEGRAM TO P. F. VINOGRADOV

Vinogradov, Gubernia Executive Committee
Archangel

People's Commissar Tsyurupa has shown me your telegram to him of 21. IV. No. 1192, in which you refer to an order of the central Soviet authorities as being absurd.

I officially reprimand you for this and state that if you do not withdraw such an impermissible expression, I shall raise the question of your being brought before the court, for if we are conscientious in teaching discipline to workers and peasants, we are obliged to begin with ourselves.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written in April, not
earlier than 21, 1918

First published in part
in 1940 in the journal *Bolshevik* No. 3

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

70

TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Comrade Chicherin

Couldn't we, having in view Mirbach's arrival, "prepare" an interpretation of our constitution under which

ambassadors present their letters of credence to the Chairman of the C.E.C.?

Lenin

Written in April, prior to 23, 1918

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

71

TO A. I. RYKOV

Push hard in the Supreme Economic Council for a discussion on replacing the old paper currency by new; Gukovsky jibs at it, but I think it should be pushed forward.[45] Your opinion?

Written on April 23, 1918

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

72

TO THE PRESS BUREAU OF THE C.P.C.

27. IV. 1918

To the Press Bureau

Comrade Axelrod,

Will you please help the bearer, Comrade Gomberg, to collect all (printed) materials concerning our revolution. This is a matter of great social importance, for on it depends the information of America and of the world at large.

Greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

73

TO RAYMOND ROBINS[46]

30. IV. 1918

Dear Mr. Robins,

I thank you very much for your letter. I am sure the new democracy, that is, the proletarian democracy, is coming in all countries and will crush all obstacles and the imperialist-capitalist system in the new and the old world.

With kindly regards and thanks,

Yours truly,

Lenin

First published in Russian in 1957 in the book: *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR* (Documents of the Foreign Policy of the U.S.S.R.), Vol. I

Printed from the original Written in English

74

A. D. TSYURUPA

Comrade *Tsyurupa*

Sapronov from the Moscow *Gubernia* Soviet describes the catastrophic food situation in Moscow Gubernia and insists on the need to increase the delivery orders for grain. At least a minimum quota should be fixed. The amount given to the peasants must be increased, otherwise *they will eat up all the seed* and *won't sow*.

What can be done? What has been done?

Lenin

Written not earlier than April 1918

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

75

TO P. P. MALINOVSKY[47]

Why is it that, contrary to the decision of the C.P.C. and in spite of unemployment (and in spite of May Day), work has not been begun in Moscow

1) on a *proper* removal of tsarist monuments?
2) on the removal of tsarist eagles?
3) on preparing *hundreds* of inscriptions (revolutionary and socialist) on *all* public buildings?
4) on setting up *busts* (if only temporary ones) of various great revolutionaries?

Written between May 1 and 13, 1918

First published on April 20, 1963, in the newspaper *Sovetskaya Kultura* No. 49

Printed from the original

76

TELEGRAM TO V. N. ANDRONNIKOV, REGIONAL BOARD OF NATIONALISED ENTERPRISES OF THE URALS

Andronnikov
Regional Board
Ekaterinburg

Rumours about the denationalisation of the Bogoslovsk district are stupid nonsense.[48]

Lenin

Written on May 2, 1918

First published in 1927 in the book: *Rabochii klass Urala v gody voiny i revolyutsii* (The Working Class of the Urals in the Years of War and Revolution), Vol. III, Sverdlovsk

Printed from the original

77

TO THE C.C. OF THE R.C.P.(B.)[49]

1) The proposal of Comrades Spiridonova and Karelin is that the Bolsheviks should surrender to the Left S.R.s absolute control of the Commissariat for Agriculture, with the Bolsheviks retaining only political representation.

2) The grounds for this proposal are that, in the opinion of Comrades Spiridonova and Karelin, the Commissariat for Agriculture is going to pieces, work is becoming impossible for the Left S.R.s, they will all be compelled to leave, because—it is alleged—they are being "ousted", etc.

3) The meeting (of Lenin with the Bolsheviks from the Agriculture Board) refers the question raised by the S.R.s to the C.C. of the Party for decision. For its part, the meeting considers the arguments of the S.R.s groundless and their proposal unacceptable.*

Written on May 3, 1918
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*
Printed from the original

78

DRAFT OF A RADIO-TELEGRAM TO THE PEACE DELEGATION IN KURSK

In the Ukraine there has been a coup d'etat.[50]

Bourgeois-landowner rule completely restored.

Rostov-on-Don taken by the Germans.[51]

British threaten with a British and Japanese offensive.

Germans demand the seizure of Ino by the Finns and the Murmansk railway to fight the British.[52]

We are holding emergency meeting of C.C. of the Party on all this.[53]

Your policy is to exert all efforts to hasten the conclusion of an armistice and peace, at the price, of course, of new annexations.

Written on May 6, 1918
First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*
Printed from the original

* The text of point 3 is in the handwriting of V. N. Meshcheryakov. The document is signed by V. N. Meshcheryakov, S. P. Sereda, and N. M. Petrovsky.—*Ed.*

79

TO A. D. TSYURUPA[54]

You *should have* drawn up a statement of the case concerning the refusal to admit the inspectors and asked me to *take legal action* against the guilty parties.

Written on May 7 and 8, 1918
First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*
Printed from the original

80

TELEGRAM TO THE C.E.C. OF THE SOVIETS OF SIBERIA

Centrosibir
Irkutsk
Copy to Prokopiev

Prokopiev and others are flooding Larin with telegrams, asking for money.

I state that I have not received a reply to my telegram of 23. IV giving exact figures.* I state that such an attitude to the matter, when no reply is given as to what use has been made of hundreds of millions, and why an extra sum above the quota is needed and how much, is impermissible.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on May 8, 1918
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*
Printed from the original

* See *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50, Document 122.—*Ed.*

81

TO A. D. TSYURUPA[55]

Comrade *Tsyurupa*,
People's Commissar for Food

The bearer—Andrei Vasilievich *Ivanov*—is a Putilov factory worker (who is well known to Shlyapnikov and has old *Party* certificates dating from tsarist times).

I told him about yesterday's decree and the decision that the Commissariat for Labour was to urgently mobilise workers. I gave him my opinion as follows:

Unless the *best* workers of Petrograd build *by selection* a reliable workers' army of 20,000 people for a disciplined and ruthless *military* crusade against the rural bourgeoisie and against bribe-takers, famine and the ruin of the revolution are inevitable.

Please confirm this to the bearer and give him a brief statement that you will grant such detachments the fullest plenary powers on precisely such conditions.

Please give him such a statement to be *read in Petrograd*, and return this letter to the bearer.

Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on May 10, 1918

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from
the typewritten copy

82

TO M. G. BRONSKY

Comrade Bronsky,

And so, it is *precisely* agreed between us that

(1) at tomorrow's meeting with the Germans *you* will be **the first** to speak (*none* of the Russians before you),[56]

(2) you will first read the theses (afterwards make a speech, or a report, or a commentary),

(3) you will show me the theses *tomorrow* before the meeting (i.e., in the morning *before 2 o'clock*; I shall be leaving after that).

This is extremely important. It is a directive of the C.C. and the C.P.C. It is obligatory!

Lenin

Written on May 14, 1918
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

83
TO RAYMOND ROBINS

May 14, 1918

To Colonel Robins

Dear Mr. Robins,

I enclose the preliminary plan of our economic relations with America. This preliminary plan was elaborated in the Council of Export Trade in our highest Council of National Economy.[57]

I hope this preliminary can be useful for you in your conversation with the American Foreign Office and American Export Specialists.

With best thanks,
Yours truly,
Lenin

First published in 1920 in English in the book: *Russian-American Relations. March 1917-March 1920. Documents and Papers*, New York
First published in Russian in 1957 in the book: *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR* Vol. I

Printed from the English text

84
TO THE SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL

May 16, 1918

Chairman of the Supreme Military Council

The Supreme Military Council is directed to send envoys—through the appropriate military authorities at the front

—for the purpose of signing a truce and establishing a demarcation line on the South-Eastern (Don) Front. In order that appropriate instructions may be given to the military authorities, we inform you that our envoys are in Kharkov at the present moment, headed by Sytin, military commander of the Bryansk General Staff units, who has been given instructions to secure a general truce on the Voronezh and South-Eastern fronts. A truce, especially on the South-Eastern (Don) Front, must be secured as quickly as possible, in the last resort agreeing even to accepting as a basis the present disposition of military forces.

Sytin has been instructed to try to secure through the medium of the German Command direct contact with our Command on the South-Eastern Front for co-ordinated action.

With the same aim in view, the Supreme Military Council, by all the means available to it, should maintain constant contact both with Sytin and with our Command on the South-Eastern Front.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

85
TO G. V. CHICHERIN[58]

Chicherin:

In my opinion, the Brest treaty cannot forbid us to combat pirate-insurgents (armed merchant vessels), and it is necessary to *find a form* for our naval forces to give an armed rebuff to the rebels.

Lenin

Written on May 16, 1918
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

86

EXCHANGE OF NOTES WITH A. D. TSYURUPA

TO A. D. TSYURUPA

1) Has your draft (on the organisation of supply commissariats) been communicated to *all* departments?

2) Take the floor today on a point of order about submitting it for discussion tomorrow.

3) Is there not too much bureaucratic formality in your draft? Should not a point be inserted in the decree providing for the *participation* of 20-50 *workers* (with very strict recommendations) in *each* of the supply commissariats in the *grain-producing* gubernias?[59]

A. D. TSYURUPA'S REPLY

1) The draft has been discussed with regional officials, and approved by Rykov and the Supreme Economic Council in the section concerning the establishment of a Commissariat for Supply (central).

2) I will rise to a point of order.

3) The draft provides for the setting up of supply commissariats under the Soviets, the supply commissariats must not be unwieldy. A point about the participation of 20-50 workers in each commissariat of the grain-producing gubernias may be inserted, but it should be for their participation in the technical apparatus as cadres to be sent out to the volosts.

The introduction of such a number of workers in the composition of the commissariats will evoke protests in the local areas.

TO A. D. TSYURUPA

Not in the *composition* of the commissariats, of course, but as cadres of

1) agitators
2) controllers
3) executors.

Written on May 20, 1918

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

87
TO A. D. TSYURUPA

A Food Commissariat circular—or better still, perhaps a decree of the C.P.C.—should be drawn up, making it amply clear:

—that the delegatkoms* should be allowed to work *jointly* with the gubernia food committees and *under their control*;

—that the separate existence and separate operation of the delegatkoms is impermissible;

—that such a thing invariably leads to the infiltration of profiteers;

—that especially desirable is the assistance of the delegatkoms and their participation in agitation against the kulaks and profiteers under the guidance of agitators' detachments of the gubernia food committees, etc.

All this should be set out *and published* in greatest detail and in an *extremely popular manner*.

Written on May 20, 1918

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

88
TO A. A. JOFFE AND V. R. MENZHINSKY

24/V. 1918

Comrades Joffe and Menzhinsky

Dear Comrades,

I have received your pessimistic and angry letters (that of 20. V, I received today, 24. V). Some of your accusations levelled against Chicherin fall on me. For example, I insisted that the theses on concessions should be sent *through*

* Delegatkoms—delegate committees under the gubernia food committees, consisting of delegates from army units, representatives of the consuming districts and others.—*Ed*.

the Germans, in order to show them how seriously we desire business-like economic relations. (The theses were drawn up by common consent with the participation of Radek and other "Left stupids".) The terms of our concessions are such that nothing but benefit for us will result if the Germans accept these terms.

I fully approve your policy, set out in especial detail in Comrade Joffe's letters,

Your dissatisfaction with Chicherin is, in my opinion, exaggerated. But *in any case* I agree to help you and I ask you to direct your efforts to *practical* ways of improving matters. For this, I would suggest that you *precisely* formulate *concrete* proposals (send me copies of telegrams and letters, *parts* that are **strictly** practical and brief, for I simply have no time to read everything). In that case I promise to try to secure their fulfilment and to check whether they have been fulfilled.

You must think over how to shift the centre of things to Berlin *to a greater extent* (I agree to help in this), and propose for this purpose *very tactful* (N.B.) and *concretely practical* measures. I shall accept all *feasible* measures and endeavour to have them carried out.

If anything can be done to secure peace with Finland, the Ukraine and Turkey (this is the crux of the matter), we must always work for this (of course, it cannot be secured without *certain* further annexations and tribute payments). I would give *much* to *hasten* such a peace.

You, too, should keep your nerve. Putting diplomacy to rights (and creating a new diplomacy) is no easy task. Festina lente.

With best greetings,

Yours,

Lenin

P.S.

28/V. I missed the messenger.

Chicherin has given me the text of a Note which Joffe sent to the German Government *on his own account*, agreeing to surrender the ships of the Black Sea Fleet (i.e., to their removal from Novorossiisk to Sevastopol)[60] on condition

merely of peace with the Ukraine. However, our government in a clearly worded Note (communicated by radio to Joffe as well) considered it possible to agree to the removal of the ships to Sevastopol on *different* conditions, viz.: 1) *peace on all* **three** fronts, i.e., with the Ukraine and Finland and **Turkey**; 2) no annexation of Sevastopol.

How could Joffe make such a mistake? How could he make such a "bad bargain"? How in general he could send a Note on such an important question *on his own account*, I fail to understand....

N.B. Send us *Arbeiterpolitik*, the Stuttgart *Sozialdemokrat*[61] and **similar** publications, all, *complete*, 5-10 copies of each.

Have you begun some *legal* publication in German? What precisely? What is the plan of publication and when will it appear?

Greetings,
Lenin

Sent to Berlin
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

89

INSTRUCTION ON THE REPORT OF THE CHIEF OF MAIN NAVAL HEADQUARTERS

In view of the hopelessness of the situation as certified by the supreme military authorities, the fleet must be destroyed forthwith.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on May 24, 1918
First published in 1938
in the journal *Morskoi Sbornik*
No. 6

Printed from the original

90
TO S. G. SHAHUMYAN

Moscow, May 24, 1918

Dear Comrade Shahumyan,

I take the opportunity to send you once again a few words (I sent you a letter by hand recently; did you receive it?[62]).

The Baku situation is a difficult one internationally. I would advise you therefore to attempt a bloc with Jordania. If that is impossible, you must manoeuvre and *postpone* a decision until you are stronger militarily. A sober estimate and diplomacy for a postponement—remember that.

Get the radio going and send me letters through Astrakhan.

All the best,

Yours,

Lenin

Sent to Baku

Bulletins of the Dictatorship of the C. C. of the Caspian Flotilla and of the Presidium of the Provisional Executive Committee
No. 33, September 8, 1918

Printed from the text of Bulletins

91
TELEGRAM TO THE KINESHMA SOVIET[63]

Soviet of Deputies
Kineshma

To all workers of the Kineshma district. Comrade workers, the rich in the villages of the producing gubernias are hoarding huge stocks of grain and not giving them up for the starving workers. The rich prefer to sell grain at exorbitant speculative prices, which only the city bourgeoisie can pay, but not the poor, starving population. While speculating in grain, the rich seek to speculate also in the goods they receive in exchange for grain. The city bourgeoisie is agitating for the abolition of the grain monopoly and fixed prices, and for freedom to trade in grain. The bourgeoisie is passing from agitation to provocation; it is skil-

fully and surreptitiously inciting the starving workers to demonstrations, disturbances and disorders, while endeavouring to seize power in its own hands. The Council of People's Commissars is exerting every effort in the struggle to uphold the grain monopoly, in the absence of which only the bourgeoisie will prosper while the poor will be left without any grain at all. Comrade workers, do not give way to the provocation of the dark forces, do not play into the hands of the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionaries who want to make cat's-paws of you and destroy all the gains of the revolution. Do not disorganise the hard work of obtaining grain for you by thoughtless actions on your part and independent exchange of goods. The Council of People's Commissars is now exchanging goods for grain on a vast scale; it has begun requisitioning grain stocks from the village bourgeoisie by means of armed detachments. If you want to help, to co-operate with your workers' and peasants' government, act in an organised way: select from among you those who are most familiar with the food business for work in the Soviet food supply bodies, recruit fighting detachments of honest, incorruptible, steadfast revolutionaries, true champions of the interests of the workers and peasants. Immediately detain provocators and agents of the counter-revolution and deliver them to Moscow. Bear firmly in mind: either we extricate ourselves from all our unprecedented difficulties in an organised way, and with honour, or everything is inevitably doomed to complete ruin. There is no other alternative. In the expectation of speedy results from these measures, the Council of People's Commissars asks you, comrade workers, to display revolutionary self-discipline and political alertness in order to save the gains of the revolution and ensure the triumph of the proletarian dictatorship.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars*

Written on May 24, 1918

Published on May 29, 1918, in the newspaper *Rabochy i Krestyanin* No. 50

Printed from the typewritten text

* The telegram was signed also by A. D. Tsyurupa, People's Commissar for Food.—*Ed.*

92
TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

Shlyapnikov

The Central Committee has passed a decision *to direct the maximum number* of Party workers to the food front.

For *obviously* we shall perish and ruin the *whole* revolution if we do not conquer famine in the next few months.

It is essential that you be *temporarily* employed on food supply (while retaining the rank of People's Commissar for Labour). I am confident that you will carry out the directive of the C.C.

I think that you ought to go to the Kuban to help pump grain out from there.

You must decide today and make immediate arrangements with Tsyurupa.

Written on May 28, 1918
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

93
EXCHANGE OF NOTES WITH A. D. TSYURUPA

V. I.,

How has the question about using the army in the struggle for requisitioning grain been decided? If it has been decided affirmatively, how will the thing be arranged officially—×by way of an agreement with the Commissariat for Military Affairs or by the issue of a decree?*

It is very important to know this, for today Kudinsky has been arrested (apparently by Comrade Dzerzhinsky's Commission), our work threatens to come to a complete stop.

A. Tsyurupa

× Precisely along these lines. Telephone Trotsky *today* (from my box), so that he gets *everything* moving tomorrow.

* Underlined by Lenin.—*Ed.*

I have just written to Shlyapnikov about his going to the Kuban. He should make arrangements with you *today*. I advise you right now, *today*, to appoint him from the C.P.C.

Stalin has agreed to go to the Northern Caucasus. Send him. He knows the local conditions. Shlyapnikov will find it better with him too.

A. Ts.

I fully agree. See them both off *today*.

Written on May 28, 1918

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

94

TO THE EDITORS OF *IZVESTIA*

30. V. 1918

The Editors of *Izvestia*

The bearers are representatives of the Yelets Soviet. Will you please publish an interview with them in the newspaper. It is a model uyezd as regards good order, registration of *cultivated estates* and their economy, and as regards *suppression* of the bourgeoisie.

With comradely greetings,

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

95

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

31. V. 1918

Comrade Zinoviev,

The bearer, Comrade Bach, has a mandate from Centrotransport of Siberia. He asks to hasten the issue and dispatch to Siberia of 137 automobiles which the Motor

Section (of Petrograd) (the Petrograd Commune) requested the Motor Centre to remove from Petrograd as useless. We have passed a decision to have *all* lorries handed over to the food department.[64]

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

96

TELEGRAM TO THE VYKSA WORKERS[65]

Vedernikov
Vyksa
Kulebaki, Kazan-Moscow Railway

I very much hope that the worker comrades of Vyksa, in carrying out their excellent plan of a mass movement with machine-guns to obtain grain, will act as genuine revolutionaries, that is, they will staff the detachment with selected reliable people who will not behave like robbers, and who will work to the schedules and in full agreement with Tsyurupa for the common cause of saving from famine all the starving people, and not merely for themselves.

Lenin

Written on May 31, 1918
First published in part on June 2, 1918, in *Izvestia* No. 111
First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

97

TO THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISTS[66]

Through the American comrade Albert R. Williams I send my greetings to the American socialist internationalists. I firmly believe that in the long run the social

revolution will be victorious in all civilised countries. When it begins in America it will far surpass the Russian revolution.

Written in May 1918

First published in 1925 in the magazine *Ogonyok* No. 4 (95)

Printed from the text of the book

Published in 1960 in the book: Albert Rhys Williams, *O Lenine i Oktyabrskoi Revolyutsii* (On Lenin and the October Revolution), Moscow

98

TO A. A. JOFFE

2/VI. 1918

Comrade Joffe,

Sokolnikov and Bukharin are to make a trip to you, and Larin, too, I believe.[67] I take this opportunity to give you a little warning. I am sitting at a meeting with the "travellers" (without Larin). I hear talk about "Joffe transferring the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to Berlin".

The friction between you and Chicherin is sometimes used—unconsciously rather than consciously—as a means towards intensifying this friction.

I am confident that you will be on your guard and will not allow this friction to grow. I have read attentively your letters and I am absolutely convinced that this friction is unimportant (there is chaos everywhere, carelessness everywhere—in all commissariats—and this evil is slow to cure). Given patience and persistence the friction will be smoothed over. Chicherin is a splendid worker. Your line is quite faithful to the Brest treaty, you are *already* successful, I think—and hence it follows that we shall easily smooth away the friction.

If the German traders will accept economic advantages, realising that *nothing* is to be got from us by war, for we shall burn *everything*—then your policy will continue to be successful. We can give the Germans raw materials. In important cases, send me copies of your exact demands. Arrange for a direct line *as quickly as possible.*

Bukharin acts in good faith, but he is up to the neck in "Left stupidness". Sokolnikov has gone astray again.

Larin is a floundering intellectual, a first-class bungler. Therefore be extremely on your guard with all these most charming, most admirable delegates. Sokolnikov is a very valuable worker, but sometimes (as just now) something "comes over him" and he "breaks china" because of paradoxes. If you do not take precautions, he will break china there with you. And Bukharin—triply so. Prenez garde!

I hope that Krasin and Hanecki, being business-like people, will help you and the whole matter will be smoothed out.

Thank you for the "supplement" to your letter. I await some more.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S.

N.B.: Among the Russian Bolsheviks taken prisoner by Germany (Zivilgefangene) was *Popov* of Brussels, taken in Belgium. Could you find him and take him into our service?

P.P.S. Try to send this enclosure to Switzerland by messenger—but not by post.[68]

Sent to Berlin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI* — Printed from the original

99
TELEGRAM TO V. L. PANYUSHKIN

Gubernia Soviet
Tula
Forward to Panyushkin

Surprised at absence of news. Inform urgently how much grain collected, how many trucks sent, how many speculators and kulaks arrested.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on June 3, 1918

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII* — Printed from the original

100

EXCHANGE OF NOTES WITH A. D. TSYURUPA[69]

Tsyurupa:

In view of the furious agitation of enemies and "wavers" and its influence on the *workers* in Petrograd, Moscow, etc.,

I think you ought to publish (and distribute as a leaflet *at the factories*) something in the nature of a letter to the workers, saying:

they are trying to scare you—

the waverers are sowing panic—

they are talking of "independent procurements"—

they criticise the "centre", throwing the blame on others—

and so forth.

But you, workers, should not believe the whiners, sowers of panic and fault-finders,

but set to work: let *every* factory send to our aid trustworthy people *with a guarantee*, *with a surety*, we shall show them where the obstacle lies, what the difficulty is, and *they will help us*.

Would you be able to place such people?

A. D. TSYURUPA'S REPLY

Yes, we can arrange it. Your proposal will be implemented. A small group of workers has already had a number of reports on the food question read to them (something like lectures) and this group will shortly be going to the area of Tambov and Voronezh gubernias with our representative. We have asked all Soviets,× * Bolshevik committees and trade unions to give us reliable people.

Tsyurupa:

× Are the *factory* committees, at least those of the **big** plants, included here? This is important.

Written on June 7, 1918

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

* Underlined by Lenin.—*Ed.*

101

TO A. D. TSYURUPA

7. VI. 1918

Comrade Tsyurupa or his deputy

Comrade Tsyurupa,

I am sending to you representatives of the Vyshny Volochok Soviet.

The famine there is appalling. It is urgently necessary to help by every means and to give at least something immediately

I have already talked with these comrades about forming detachments and on the tasks of the food work, but you, too, should have a talk with them.

Lenin

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

102

TO A. P. SMIRNOV

Comrade Smirnov,

The bearers are interested in the question of elections to the Soviets. I have told them that they always have the right to recall their representatives.

Tell them of your experience and give them directives.

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

103

TO A. D. TSYURUPA

10. VI. 191

Comrade Tsyurupa or his deputy

The bearers are comrades from the Maltsev factories (about 20,000 workers, about 100,000 in their district). The food situation is catastrophic.

Please hear them out and
(1) take urgent measures to help them at once, at least to a minimum extent, but help immediately;
(2) draw representatives of the Maltsev district into the Narrow Food Council;
(3) make efforts to organise detachments of the Maltsev workers.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

104
TO A. D. TSYURUPA

11. VI. 1918

Comrade Tsyurupa or his deputy

Comrade Tsyurupa,

The bearers are representatives of a Bryansk factory. Since yesterday you (or Comrade Svidersky) arrived at a good understanding with the Maltsev workers, I am sure you will do so, too, with those from Bryansk. I ask you most earnestly to receive them at once and do everything possible.

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

105
TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Zinoviev
Smolny
Petrograd

I do not remember giving permission for contacts with Omsk.

I shall make inquiries of Podbelsky.

I advise you to make no transactions, direct or indirect, with the Omsk counter-revolutionaries.[70]

Lenin

Written on June 11, 1918
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*
Printed from the original

106

ADDITION TO THE TELEGRAM TO A. S. YAKUBOV, J. V. STALIN AND A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

Top priority
Telegram on food

1) Yakubov
2) Stalin
3) Shlyapnikov
Extraordinary Regional Food Committee
Tsaritsyn

In view of the events in Samara and Omsk, the interruption of railway traffic between Perm and Vyatka and the complete uncertainty as to the transport situation on the Perm-Ekaterinburg-Tyumen line, which have completely cut off Siberia, without waiting for your consent I am sending by water route the technical workers from Vyatka and Ufa gubernias about whom I informed you in telegram 363. Please receive them and put them to work immediately by distributing them among the places of grain procurement and, if necessary, among the places along the routes for dispatching and forwarding grain. Among those being sent are top-level people absolutely suitable for technical work in the centre and in the Extraordinary Regional Food Committee, and efficient organisers for grain collecting in the localities. To use these people, for whose honesty I am ready to vouch, is essential and inevitable, since no greater and better technical forces are to be found. Offer them to fix the rate of their remuneration themselves and, although I am sure of their being sufficiently modest, I recommend you not to stint payment for their work. Telegraph me.

Tsyurupa
People's Commissar for Food

I urgently advise you to receive the people sent by Tsyurupa and put them to work, since he vouches for them.

It is extremely important to make use of experienced, honest practical workers.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on June 11, 1918
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

107
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

11. VI. 1918

Zinoviev
Smolny
Petrograd

I urgently advise you to take advantage of the present moment to step up dispatch of the greatest possible number of detachments to the Urals via Vyatka. Tsyurupa agrees. There are arms in Vologda.

Lenin

Transmit *at once* to Petrograd and inform me *when* received in Petrograd.

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

108
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Zinoviev
Smolny
Petrograd

I hope you received my request to send more detachments to the Urals. I add that it is extremely important to send there more workers for agitation and guidance of the backward. Reply immediately.

Lenin

Written on June 14, 1918
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

109

TO THE COMMISSARIATS FOR EDUCATION AND PROPERTIES OF THE REPUBLIC

You are directed to submit information without delay as to what exactly has been done to implement the decree of 13. IV. 1918, particularly in regard to 1) the removal of old monuments, 2) their replacement by new monuments, at least temporary ones, and 3) the replacement of old inscriptions on public buildings by new ones (§ 5 of the decree).[71]

The two months' procrastination in carrying out the decree—important both as propaganda and as providing work to the unemployed—is unpardonable.

Chairman, C.P.C.*

Written on June 15, 1918

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

110

TO A. D. TSYURUPA

1

Tsyurupa

I very much fear that we underestimate the "Penza" danger both as regards food and in a general political respect, and that in fact we shall not be able to send "agitators".

Should we not adopt urgent measures to take a good food detachment (of Petrograd workers or the like) and get it moving *at once*, impressing upon them the task: for the first few weeks you will act as agitators.

* There is a typewritten text of this document on C.P.C. notepaper, signed by Lenin, which was sent to the People's Commissariat for Education.—*Ed.*

2

Tsyurupa

I think it necessary that you most urgently get in touch
1) with Petrograd
2) with Sverdlov
concerning the dispatch to Penza and Penza Gubernia of some 50 people (agitators) from among Petrograd and Moscow workers.

Written on June 17, 1918
First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII* Printed from the original

111

TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Gorbunov

Tell Minkin that Syzran has been taken by the Czechs.[72] But we must not give way to panic. Our forces are preparing to hit back. The Penza people, too, should prepare firmly and energetically. Our success is assured if we do not remain inactive.

Written on June 18, 1918
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI* Printed from the original

112

TO A. A. JOFFE

18/VI.

Comrade Joffe,

I am extremely astonished and angry at the absence of news from Switzerland. I am told that couriers travel there weekly. Yet not a word!

What are Berzin and Shklovsky doing?

Please forward this letter to them and take measures to receive a reply.

It is *urgently* necessary to have sent here from Switzerland

Junius's pamphlet,

Karl Liebknecht's pamphlet,

a set of cuttings from *Berner Tagwacht* and other publications (all *documents* on the movement of the *Lefts* in Germany and Austria).[73]

This must be republished immediately in book form (separate issues) in Switzerland.

Commission someone in Germany (in Berlin) to do the *same* job, using the materials of the Partei-Archiv or of any library having complete sets of newspapers for the war years (Rühle's article on the split in *Vorwärts*, 12. I. 1915 or 1916,[74] etc.).

Referenten-Material from Niederbarnim (quoted in Legien's pamphlet: *Warum müssen die Gewerkschaftsführer, u.s.w.*)[75] and *everything of this kind* to be collected immediately.

It's really scandalous that *nothing* is being done in this field.

For this work two Germans (Borchardt would be suitable) and two Swiss can (and should) be *hired*, and it should be published immediately in German, French and English.

Lenin

Regarding the ships in Novorossiisk the matter has not yet been fully cleared up. But we have taken *all* measures and I hope the order will be carried out.[76]

Written on June 18, 1918
Sent to Berlin

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

113

TELEGRAM TO S. G. SHAHUMYAN

Shahumyan
Baku

Via Astrakhan and Kushka, to be transmitted by radio-telegraph

So far there has been no decree on nationalisation of the oil industry.[77] We intend decreeing nationalisation of

the oil industry towards the close of the navigational season. For the time being we are organising a state monopoly of trade in oil products. Take all measures for the speediest shipment of oil products to the Volga. Report daily to the Chief Oil Committee on the position of the oil industry.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on June 18, 1918
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the text of the telegraph form signed by Lenin

114
TO I. E. GUKOVSKY

We have decided to rob all the commissariats in order urgently to strengthen the *Commissariat for Food*, at least for 2 or 3 months, as otherwise we may starve to death.
From you we want to take *Zax*.

Written on June 22, 1918
First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

115
TO THE SECRETARIAT OF THE C.P.C.

1

1) Find the decision passed a long time ago (in Petrograd) on how to put questions on the agenda.
2) The compiler of the agenda, the secretary (Gorbunov is the secretary, isn't he? what a mishmash we have here), should sign at the bottom: compiled by secretary so-and-so (and I give warning that *I shall dismiss* secretaries who are unwilling to observe the rules).

2

Reminder

to all secretaries, that they should not put questions on the agenda without first demanding from the reporter (or from the person introducing the question) a *signed statement*

1) whether inquiries have been made of the finance department (Commissariat for Finance+Control), if it is a matter of expenditure or allocations;

2) whether inquiries have been made of the departments *concerned* in the given question.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

All secretaries must sign
here that they have read this.

Written on June 26, 1918
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*
Printed from the original

116

EXCHANGE OF NOTES WITH A. D. TSYURUPA

Tsyurupa

1) Who and when are you sending to the local areas (Schlichter, Bryukhanov, who else? and where to?)?

2) We've had a talk with Pravdin (he arrived today from Tula, *Yelets*, Orel).

There is grain.
exemplary order,
power in the hands of the poor peasants.

3) Who are you sending to Tambov and with what detachments? Should not Bryukhanov be sent there? The *most* energetic person is needed there.

(Today I had a talk with people from Tambov; the harvest is unprecedented; there is also *old* grain; the kulaks can be brought to heel, but there is a lack of *organisers* and *detachments*.)

4) Are we going to put up with the absence of a (food) dictatorship in Moscow? It's a scandal! A disgrace!

Schlichter is going to Yefremov Uyezd, Tula Gubernia. I sent a comrade to Zinoviev in Petrograd for workers for his detachment. Urgent loading of goods is in progress at present. In about 5 days' time he will set out.*

A. Ts.

Tsyurupa

Five days for an exchange of telegrams with Zinoviev (who long ago was asking where to send detachments) and for loading the goods (1 day??).

This is *monstrous* red tape. Appoint ten officials—scoundrels from the Food Commissariat—and demand that everything be done *in 1 day or in 2 days*, otherwise dismissal and prosecution.

Written on June 26, 1918
First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*
Printed from the original

117

TO A. P. SMIRNOV, G. I. PETROVSKY AND I. E. GUKOVSKY

28/VI. 1918

Comrade Smirnov
or Petrovsky, People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, and Comrade Gukovsky, People's Commissar for Finance

I strongly recommend the bearer, Comrade Semyon Ivanovich Lebedev, Chairman of the Temnikov Soviet, Tambov Gubernia.

He asks for *a loan of 1½ million*. From his account it is evident that affairs in the uyezd are exemplary. A most instructive example of a model uyezd where the kulaks have in actual fact been ousted from *all* the Soviets. In my opinion, such an uyezd should be given priority assistance.

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*
Printed from the original

* Underlined by Lenin.—*Ed.*

118
TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

Secret

People's Commissar Stalin
Tsaritsyn

Today, June 30, information was received from Joffe in Berlin that Kühlmann had a preliminary conversation with Joffe. From this conversation it is evident that the Germans agree to compel the Turks to cease hostilities beyond the Brest frontier, having established a precise demarcation line for us. They promise not to allow the Turks into Baku, but they want to receive oil. Joffe has replied that we shall adhere strictly to Brest, but quite agree with the principle of give and take. Pay the greatest attention to this information and try to pass it on as soon as possible to Shahumyan, for now there are very serious chances of holding on to Baku. Some oil, of course, we shall give.

Lenin

Written on June 30, 1918

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the text of the telegraph tape

FROM THE ARCHIVE OF YUSHODO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

119
TELEGRAM TO V. L. PANYUSHKIN

Panyushkin, Military Commissar Extraordinary
Novosil

I shall pass your request on to the Extraordinary Commission, but ask you to act firmly after first strictly calculating and weighing up the forces, for the matter must be carried through from start to finish.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written at the end of June-not later than July 2, 1918

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

120
TO A. A. JOFFE

1 VII. 1918

Dear Comrade Joffe,

I am, to tell the truth, extremely angry with you. We are short-handed, everyone is devilishly overworked, yet you go and do a thing like this: you write a lot on *business matters* in a *personal* letter to me (the last one, in pencil) and insert a number of *personal* thrusts, attacks, pinpricks and so on against Chicherin ("not a real" m-r* and so on). To Chicherin, on the other hand, you write: "prospects in the letter to Lenin".

Damn it, it's the frozen limit!

Chicherin, naturally, asks me for the letter, and I can't show it, because I don't want to be an instrument of squabble. The result is that the work suffers and relations suffer.

Chicherin is a splendid worker, most conscientious, shrewd, knowledgeable. Such people should be highly appreciated. That his failing is lack of "commandership" does not matter. There are plenty of people in this world who have the opposite failing!

Chicherin is a man you can work with, he is easy to work with, but the work can be spoiled even with him.

You find fault with him, but the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has a right to complain of you, too, because you do not reckon with him, and *without* the knowledge and permission of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, ambassadors are not, of course, entitled to take decisive steps.

I hope you will take all measures to eliminate these Mißstände.**

That you have got Krasin "on the move" is very good. Keep on at Shklovsky with all your might; he is a lazybones; demand reports and more reports, use threats.

All the best,

Lenin

Sent to Berlin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

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* Apparently "minister".—*Ed.*

** Shortcomings.—*Ed.*

121
TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN

Secret

Personal from Lenin to Krasin
Russian Embassy, Berlin

I fully appreciate Joffe's work and certainly approve it, but I emphatically demand that Joffe should behave as an ambassador whose superior is the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and should observe the decencies, not abusing and not slighting other people, and consulting the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs on all important matters. Only then can I and will I support Ambassador Joffe. I rely on your tact to impress this upon Ambassador Joffe, and await a reply.

Lenin

Written on July 3, 1918
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

122
TELEGRAM TO D. Y. IVASHCHENKO

Ivashchenko, Commissar of Orsha Station
Orsha

Thank you for letting through 36 waggons to Germany: they are for our needy prisoners of war. Please refute all the foul slanders and remember that we should do all we can to help our prisoners of war.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on July 4, 1918
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*
Printed from the original

123

REPLY BY DIRECT LINE TO K. A. MEKHONOSHIN[78]

Lenin replies:

Kolegayev told me personally as well as Zinoviev and many others, that he, Kolegayev, is opposed to the present policy of the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Party. I do not doubt that the crazily hysterical and provocative adventure culminating in the murder of Mirbach and revolt of the Central Committee of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries against the Soviet power will lose them not only the majority of their workers and peasants, but also many intellectuals. The revolt was suppressed completely in a single day. Hundreds of people have been arrested.

Put on record Muravyov's declaration of his withdrawal from the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Party, and continue to keep him under vigilant control. I am confident that if these conditions are observed we shall fully succeed in utilising his excellent fighting qualities. The struggle against the Czechoslovaks and Cossacks must be waged with treble energy.

Lenin

Written on July 7, 1918
Transmitted to Kazan

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

124

TELEGRAM TO S. P. NATSARENUS

Natsarenus, Commissar Extraordinary
Petrozavodsk

You are charged with the following duties:

1. To take all measures for the thorough destruction of the railway line over the greatest possible distance.

2. Foreigners directly or indirectly assisting the predatory campaign of the Anglo-French imperialists to be arrested, in case of resistance—to be shot.

3. Citizens of the Soviet Republic directly or indirectly assisting in imperialist plunder—to be shot.

Two million rubles are being remitted and put at your disposal. You will be informed separately about the military aid to be sent to you.*

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on July 7, 1918
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the text in an unknown hand, added to and signed by Lenin

125
TO I. E. GUKOVSKY[79]

1

Gukovsky

There are several complaints that you (your Commissariat) have still *not given* the assignments:

{ 1) full text,
{ 2) inscriptions in all languages, etc.

Regarding the design of the new money.

I have already ordered this from Zax. *It is a mere trifle, really.*

Do it or have it done *tomorrow morning.*

2

You are *sabotaging*, really! Now, what is so important here? After all, it is *not* final. It is ridiculous to consider this important.

Written on July 11, 1918
First published: the first document in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*, the second in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

* The last sentence of the telegram is in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

126

TO I. E. GUKOVSKY

1

There are complaints that you have still not given the text for the new money, thus making it difficult to prepare the models and test them. Give it immediately, retaining the old text about being exchangeable for gold (the exchange will be suspended by separate decrees).

2

Make a *Soviet* inscription.

3

1) Give available models to the best experts.
2) Order counterfeit.
3) Order designs (of all denominations) from the Board of the People's Commissariat for Education.
4) Have Popovitsky draw up an estimate:
(a) how many such bank-notes can be produced in one month with the usual, i.e., the normal, assortment of denominations
(a_1) on the Orlov machines,
(a_2) on the ordinary flat-bed machines,
(a_3) high denomination notes (i.e., notes of high value) on Orlov machines, low denomination notes on ordinary flat-bed machines?
(b) what is the value of the new bank-notes compared with the old?
(c) when precisely will it be possible to make the clichés (that is, how many days after the design is endorsed) and how long before beginning to produce the new bank-notes?
(d) will the new method require new materials and auxiliary substances, etc., as compared with the old?
What will be the cost of forms (for all official papers of Soviet authorities)?

Written in the first half of July 1918

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

127

TELEGRAM TO THE VORONEZH GUBERNIA MILITARY COMMISSAR

Gubernia Military Commissar
Voronezh

I read your note to Trotsky. He and I fully agree that the telegram from Saratov is trustworthy and should be promulgated, for it comes from people who sincerely condemn the adventure of the Central Committee of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries.[80]

Lenin

Written on July 12, 1918
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50
Printed from the original

128

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR NAVAL AFFAIRS

Will you please take all measures to speed up delivery to the Caspian Sea of naval vessels of all suitable types.[81]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on July 13, 1918
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

129

TO N. I. PODVOISKY

Podvoisky

Why have you not sent from Kursk 4 regiments + Asarkh's regiment (?)
+ Sluvis's division?

Delay is disastrous for us on the Czechoslovak front, and you are late![82]

Written on July 16, 1918
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI* — Printed from the original

130
TELEGRAM TO THE PERM SOVIET

17. VII. 1918

Soviet of Deputies
Perm
Copy to Smilga, C.C. member

I have received a complaint from Stanislaw Palinski, an old Polish revolutionary who is recommended by Steklov. Palinski has been arrested at the Berezniki soda works, Verkhstiya post-station, Perm Gubernia, on a charge of counter-revolutionary activity and sympathy for the Czechoslovaks.

Palinski writes that the Legal Commission of the Usolye Uyezd Soviet found nothing criminal in his actions.

I urgently request you to carry out a strict check and impartial examination of the matter, and allow Palinski passage to Poland.

Telegraph execution.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI* — Printed from the original

131
TELEGRAM TO F. I. KOLESOV

17. VII. 1918

Kolesov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Turkestan Republic
Tashkent

We are taking all possible steps to assist you. We are sending a regiment.

We are taking energetic measures against the Czechoslovaks and do not doubt that we shall crush them. Do not despair, try your utmost to make permanent and stable contact with Krasnovodsk and Baku.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Volzhsky Den (Samara)
No. 29, July 20, 1918

Printed from the original

132
TO N. I. PODVOISKY

Podvoisky

I did not reply to the second telegram because such an appointment does not depend on me, and in general it is hardly possible, as it upsets the *whole* order of things.[83]

The Czechoslovak (and kulak) danger is so grave that I think you ought to make (and Trotsky will probably agree) a tour of the Western and Southern (German) fronts, etc., to **speed up** the transference of troops from there to the Czechoslovak front.

Written on July 19, 1918
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

133
TO S. P. SEREDA

19. VII. 1918

Comrade Sereda,*

The bearers are members of the Land Department of the Moscow Gubernia Soviet. Please receive them—the matter

* At the top of the document Lenin wrote: "(also for Comrade Bryukhanov)".—*Ed.*

is an important one. I think the "state farms" and the communes should be merged. Practical measures for assistance and control should be discussed. Try to help with tractors.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Discuss whether a decree of the C.P.C. is needed for Moscow Gubernia. Please make haste.

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

134
TELEGRAM TO S. P. NATSARENUS

Natsarenus, Military Commissar Extraordinary
Petrozavodsk

I am passing your telegram on to the Commissariat for Food. The food situation now is as bad as it can be. We shall hardly be able to help. Everything that is best and most reliable has to be organised for sending detachments to the Czechoslovak front. Without victory over the Czechoslovaks there will be no grain.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on July 24, 1918
First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

135
TO Y. LARIN

Comrade Larin,

It is necessary to write a short pamphlet (30-40 small-sized pages) on the *composition* and *activities* of the Supreme Economic Council.

This is of extreme importance both for Europe and for the *peasants*.

Describe clearly and simply, giving facts:

(α) the participation of *workers*' organisations,

(β) the communist (Marxist), not syndicalist, nature of the structure (i.e., of the new socialist system, order),

(γ) subjection (i.e., smashing the resistance) of the capitalists,

(δ) the successes achieved in practice (we have taken stock of *all* textiles: figures), 5-10 of the *best* examples, etc.

(ε) What still remains to be done?

(η) The *new* role of the trade unions:

(αα) their growth,

(ββ) their membership *at the present time*,

(γγ) their role: they **run** production.

(θ) The number of nationalised enterprises, etc.[84]

Lenin

Written at the end of July-beginning of August 1918

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

136

TO A. D. TSYURUPA

Comrade Tsyurupa,

You look ill. Without loss of time, take two months' holiday. If you do not promise this definitely, I shall complain to the Central Committee.

Lenin

Written in July 1918

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

137

TO P. A. KOBOZEV, K. KH. DANISHEVSKY, K. A. MEKHONOSHIN, F. F. RASKOLNIKOV*

1. VIII. 1918

Comrades Kobozev, Danishevsky, Mekhonoshin and Raskolnikov

Comrades,

I take this opportunity to send you a few words by messenger.

Are the army commanders and Vatsetis working vigorously enough? Is the commissars' control over them good enough?

What are the opinions about Blokhin? Is it true that he is splendid? If so, is he being given enough scope?

Of course, I am judging from a distance and can easily be mistaken. But I am afraid lest the "staffs" should smother the live work below, the work of the masses? Is there sufficient contact in the military field with the masses of poor peasants?

Is **everything** being done to rouse *them* and draw *them* into the work?

Now the **entire** fate of the revolution rests on *one* card: swift victory over the Czechoslovaks on the Kazan-Urals-Samara front.

Everything depends on this.

Is the command sufficiently energetic? Is the offensive sufficiently vigorous?

Please reply, if only in a few words, both by telegraph and by messenger.

Regards,
Lenin

First published in 1934 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 3

Printed from the original

* On the envelope of the letter Lenin wrote: "Comrades Kobozev, Danishevsky, Mekhonoshin and Raskolnikov. Headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief in Kazan (From Lenin)."—*Ed.*

138
TO A. A. JOFFE

3. VIII. 1918

Comrade Joffe

Everything you write in your recent letters is the height of absurdity.

To pursue the "former" policy of not breaking with the Entente after the Onega events is ludicrous.[85] You can't restore chastity to a dame with a baby.

It is also absurd to apply the term intervention or aid to the fact that we are continuing to manoeuvre, allowing the Germans to take what the Entente *has already taken*, thereby making more difficult and delaying the Anglo-American-Japanese throttling of Russia.

Without knowing the facts and without reflecting on them, you have fallen into error with the memorandum and the rest. If you wish to insist on it, hand in your resignation to the C.C. Until you do so, until the C.C. has accepted your resignation, until a substitute has been sent to you, and until his arrival, you, of course, as a Party member (as you yourself write) will do your duty.

Gruss,
Lenin

Written on August 3, 1918
Sent to Berlin

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

139
TO J. A. BERZIN

3. VIII. 1918

Comrade Berzin,

The bearers are Italian prisoners of war, who have presented to us a recommendation from the Chairman of the Ufa Soviet. I have seen them twice and have received a very pleasant impression from my talk with them. It is

necessary to exercise the maximum caution and help them in every way to organise work **and publications** among Italians, in the Italian language.

Thanks for the letters.

You are evidently working hard. Greetings!

For God's sake, **do not grudge** money for publications (in German, French, Italian and English) and be quick, be quick.

It is a critical moment here: the struggle against the British and Czechoslovaks, and the kulaks. The fate of the revolution is being decided.

Yours,
Lenin

Sent to Berne

First published in part on January 21, 1925, in *Pravda* No. 17

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

140

TO A. D. TSYURUPA AND V. L. PANYUSHKIN

Comrades Tsyurupa and Panyushkin

From Panyushkin's report it is evident that he is working splendidly, but is incredibly squandering his energies, taking on a hundred things at once.

This is impermissible.

Panyushkin must be given a strictly defined, precise *assignment*, laid down in writing

(1) to *seize* and requisition *all* grain surpluses from the kulaks and the rich of the whole Tula Gubernia;

(2) to *dispatch* all this grain *immediately* to Moscow;

(3) *no other job whatsoever to be undertaken* until *this assignment has been completely fulfilled.*

For carrying out the work use as many motor-lorries as possible.

Written in the summer, prior to August 5, 1918

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

141

TO A. D. TSYURUPA

Tsyurupa

Every effort must be made now so that *in actual fact* both decrees (on harvesting detachments and on collective trains)

are merged *in practice* and provide us with *our* detachments.[86]

What is being done in this direction?

1) Instruction: in the collective trains *a certain proportion in each* (1 in 5, for example) should be from the trade unions,

2) § 7 of the decree on collective trains should be developed and strengthened,

3) their correlation (in effect=*help*) with the requisitioning detachments....

4) Assign them **all** to a maximum of 2 uyezds (from among the *best*) and **sweep** these clean.

Written on August 8, 1918

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

142

TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF THE FOOD COMMISSARIAT

Bryukhanov and other members of the Board of the Food Commissariat

I gather from your note that the Food Commissariat understands and applies the decrees incorrectly.

"No special desire is noticeable among the workers ..." (to join harvesting detachments).

Where are the proofs? Where is the appeal of the Food Commissariat? What is the date of it?

In which factories was it distributed? When and in how many copies?

I am afraid the Food Commissariat did none of these things (judging by Comrade Bryukhanov's silence), but occupied itself with the devil knows what bureaucratic

red tape. For without the help of the workers the Food Commissariat is nil.

Nothing bad is to be seen from the quotation (from Nevsky's telegram of 8. VIII), for it does *not* touch on the question of % of trade union members, or of the leading organisation, or of participation and harvesting (§ 7 of the decree on collective trains), i.e., the *business* questions are not dealt with.

What's bad about Nevsky's telegram besides the good? Nevsky calls on the workers: go out and help (he says nothing about conditions, but *we* indicated *these conditions* and indicated good ones). But the Food Commissariat cavils at a *word* (when there's nothing to cavil at) ... and itself does nothing!

Either we rouse the mass of the workers to join in a serious movement for grain (and *for* crushing the kulaks)—this the Food Commissariat does not do

—or else, no Food Commissariat at all is needed.

Written in August, after 8, 1918

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

143

TELEGRAM TO A. D. METELEV[87]

9/VIII.

Metelev
Gubernia Executive Committee
Vologda
Copy to Sammer and Eliava

There is no need to come to Moscow to report. You must remain in Vologda and strain all efforts for immediate, relentless reprisals against the whiteguards, who are clearly planning treachery in Vologda, and for preparations for defence.

Refute the lie about Archangel by letter.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on August 9, 1918

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

144

TO A. D. TSYURUPA

10/VIII—18

1

Tsyurupa:

(1) It is a great scandal, an outrageous scandal, that there is grain in Saratov and we cannot get it away!! What about having one or two food officials sent to each railway junction? What more can be done?

(2) Draft of a decree—25-30 *hostages* from among the *rich* in each grain-producing volost, answering with their *lives* for the collection and delivery of **all** surpluses.

(3) Instruct Popov **urgently** to make up delivery orders by volosts. That is, how much *surplus* grain there *should be* in each volost. How much should each give?

2

Tsyurupa

1) You have not replied about "hostages".

2) When will Popov *finish* his work? (He must be given a *short* time limit.)

3

I propose that "hostages" should not be *taken* but *designated* by name for each *volost*.

The purpose of designating them: it is the rich peasants who, in the same way as they answer for contribution, will *answer with their lives* for the prompt collection and delivery of grain surpluses.

An instruction to this effect (to designate "hostages") to be given

(α) to the Poor Peasants' Committees,

(β) to all food detachments.

Force? Just now *in the front-line* area, **there will be a force.**[88]

Written on August 10, 1918

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

145

TO THE SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL

Top secret
August 10, 1918

M. D. Bonch-Bruyevich, personal

I consider it essential to reinforce the Eastern Front to the utmost. I direct the Supreme Military Council to draw up a plan for the withdrawal of the *greatest* possible number of units from the Western Front. This plan should be carried out in the shortest possible time. All battle-worthy units should go. The railways will receive orders to let through without delay all units already going to the front, and will make every preparation for handling new ones.

I direct the Supreme Military Council to supervise the accuracy and speed with which the railways fulfil the orders. The Chairman of the Supreme Military Council to report to me about delays.

I place responsibility for the speediest fulfilment of the plan on the Supreme Military Council.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published (in facsimile) in 1930 in the book: *Grazhdanskaya voina. 1918-1921* (The Civil War 1918-1921), Vol. III

Printed from the text in Sklyansky's handwriting and signed by Lenin

146

TELEGRAM TO S. P. NATSARENUS

11. VIII. 1918

Natsarenus, Military Commissar Extraordinary
Petrozavodsk

I am very glad that you are energetically dispelling the doubts of Trotsky and myself, caused by the wholesale departures from the fronts.* Send by a very reliable per-

* See *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50, Document 252.—*Ed.*

son detailed information on the number, disposition and morale of the troops.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

147

TELEGRAM TO THE VOLOGDA GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

11. VIII. 1918

Gubernia Executive Committee
Vologda
Copy to Kedrov

It is essential immediately to mobilise the bourgeoisie for trench digging, and in general to push forward fortification work with the maximum energy. Telegraph fulfilment. Send by a very reliable person detailed information and reports on the progress of this urgent work.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published (in facsimile) in 1930 in *Grazhdanskaya voina. 1918-1921*, Vol. III

Printed from the original

148

TELEGRAM TO A. Y. MINKIN

Minkin
Gubernia Executive Committee
Penza

I received your telegram on the suppression of the kulak revolt. One must strike while the iron is hot, and for this purpose utilise the suppression of the kulaks for ruthlessly

suppressing grain-profiteers everywhere, for confiscating grain from the big rich, and for mass mobilisation of the poor peasants who are being provided with grain. Telegraph fulfilment. The power of the poor peasants in the front-line area must be reinforced and made good.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on August 12, 1918
First published (in facsimile) in 1930 in *Grazhdanskaya voina. 1918-1921*, Vol. III
Printed from the original

149
TELEGRAM TO D. T. PETRUCHUK[89]

Orsha

In case of need you will be given permission to use the direct line. My advice is: gradually take steps towards disarming and expelling demoralised units and hooligan elements. For this highly important work, take members of the local Executive Committee and Regional Committee to assist you, for this is a matter of paramount state importance. Inform local Executive Committees and Party Committees of this telegram.

Written on August 15, 1918
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50
Printed from the original

150
TO A. D. TSYURUPA

Can it be arranged for detachments to go out for grain (to *procure* and transport by express goods train) according to alternative instructions, namely:

either for one time (to one volost, etc., for threshing in a uyezd, etc.)—then the bonus will be less,

or undertaking to work for a lengthy period (*not* one time, but for 3 or 4 months, etc., or *once more* when called upon by the Commissariat for Food, etc.)—and then the bonus will be higher.

(In both cases make it a condition that they are obliged *not only* to procure but also to thresh, and to *carry* the grain into barns, and to erect barns or half-sheds, etc.)

Written in the first half of August 1918

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

151

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

Top secret
16. VIII. 1918

Comrade Sklyansky

I am enclosing herewith Comrade Vorovsky's letter, with documents attached to it (registered in the Managing Department of the C.P.C. 16. VIII. 1918 as No. 2509), and I ask you to pay the most serious attention to the abuse and crime revealed here.[90]

It is necessary to appoint a very limited number of the most reliable and experienced comrades (if possible, not more than two or three), including one from the Extraordinary Commission, to carry out through such a secret commission of inquiry the *strictest investigation*, at first in absolute secrecy, in order (1) to discover the usual manner in which business is conducted in the institution concerned, (2) *to trace the connections* of the counter-revolutionary criminals and (3) to arrest all of them, allowing none to escape.

Report to me regularly on fulfilment.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

152

TELEGRAM TO S. P. SEREDA

16. VIII. 1918

Sereda, People's Commissar
Yelets

It is extremely important to organise things in such a way that all grain surpluses without exception are collected and dispatched in one volost after another. Do not grudge machines and bonuses for exemplary volosts. Inform us of the total amount of surpluses and which volost will prove to be the first to collect all surpluses in full.

Lenin

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

153

TELEGRAM TO S. V. MALYSHEV [91]

17. VIII. 1918

Sergei Malyshev
Ekaterinograd (Ekaterinenstadt), Samara Gubernia

Congratulations on success. Telegraph urgently and regularly how much has been collected and delivered to Saratov, and when. It is particularly important not to attempt too many things at once, but to collect in full all grain surpluses first from one volost and to give it a huge bonus. Telegraph fulfilment.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Published in part on
September 18, 1918, in
Saratovskaya Krasnaya Gazeta
No. 164

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

154

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO N. I. MURALOV

Sereda urgently demands 200 poods of petrol for delivery of grain in Yelets Uyezd. Do not forget that grain is the chief and vital problem. Everything must be done. Reply immediately when precisely you will send the 200 poods of petrol to Sereda (Sereda, People's Commissar for Agriculture, Yelets).

Lenin

Written not earlier than August 17 and not later than August 19, 1918

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

155

TELEGRAM TO F. E. RASKOLNIKOV

Gubernia Executive Committee for Raskolnikov
Nizhni-Novgorod

Pay thrice-heightened attention to ensuring supplies for the Kazan Front, to accelerated dispatch there of reserves, and see to it that the struggle against the whiteguards in Nizhni-Novgorod is begun without delay and carried out with absolute firmness. See especially to the safeguarding of artillery property, telegraph fulfilment.

Lenin

Written on August 19, 1918

First published in 1934 in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 3

Printed from the original

156

TELEGRAM TO S. P. SEREDA

19. VIII. 1918

Sereda, People's Commissar for Agriculture
Yelets

A 500-pood tank-car of petrol is being dispatched to you today, but why do you evade the very important ques-

tions: how much grain has been collected, how much delivered? Further, it is absolutely essential to sweep clean of all grain surpluses first one volost, and to give that volost a big bonus. We shall not grudge money to help the poor and middle peasants, if they are helping the hungry.

Lenin

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

157
TELEGRAM TO A. Y. MINKIN[92]

Minkin

It is stupid to ask whether a People's Commissar for Finance, and one of a single region at that, can countermand my order. If that order is not carried out, I shall have the guilty persons prosecuted. Leave the company of Letts in Penza for the time being until the suppression in, Chembar. Tell all members of the Executive Committee and all Communists that it is their duty ruthlessly to suppress the kulaks and to confiscate all the grain of the insurgents. Your inactivity and weakness is exasperating. I demand detailed reports on the fulfilment of all my orders and especially on the measures of suppression and confiscation.*

Lenin

Written on August 19, 1918
Sent to Penza

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

* Transmitted by direct line.—*Ed.*

158

TELEGRAM TO THE PENZA GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

19. VIII. 1918

Gubernia Executive Committee
Penza
Copy to the Gubernia Committee of the Communists

I am extremely indignant that there has been absolutely nothing definite from you as to what serious measures have at last been carried out by you for ruthless suppression of the kulaks of five volosts and confiscation of their grain. Your inactivity is criminal. All efforts should be concentrated on a single volost which should be swept clean of all grain surpluses. Telegraph fulfilment.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

159

TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY

Secret

Trotsky
Sviyazhsk
Copy to Vatsetis

Regarding your military proposals about forming detachments of instructors, let the military themselves decide this, I am no judge. I only know of the special need of having our own instructors for the workers' army in view of the complete unreliability of the officers. As regards a monetary award, I agree and will support and put through your decision.[93] It should not be made public.

Lenin

Written on August 19, 1918

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

160
TO G. V. CHICHERIN

19. VIII. 1918

Comrade Chicherin,

The bearer, Comrade Latukka, is a Finnish Social-Democrat, who was a great help to us when we were in hiding in Finland.[94] He should now be given *every possible* assistance. He would like to go to Switzerland.

Please have a talk with him and help him in realising his wish and find a place for him at the Embassy. He is a journalist.

Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

161
TO G. V. CHICHERIN

19. VIII. 1918

Comrade Chicherin,

The bearer is la camarade Jeanne Labourbe of whom I spoke with you.

Please receive her and have a detailed talk with her.

Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

162
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Gorbunov

It is superfluous and silly of you, after going through the papers, to write "for attention of V. I." (!??) ((that is obvious anyway)) or "I would propose such and such".

You should give the gist of the matter in three lines. Otherwise there is no sense in your going through them.

Written in 1918,
prior to August 20

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

163

TELEGRAM TO THE TAMBOV GUBERNIA FOOD COMMITTEE

20. VIII. 1918

Gubernia Food Committee
Tambov

In Usman Uyezd, landowners' grain has been harvested from 7,000 dessiatines of sown area in Safonovo, Baryatino and Novo-Nikolskoye volosts, and has been delivered to the elevator. Telegraph immediately how many poods of grain there are in this elevator, whether the guard is reliable, why you are slow in dispatching grain to Moscow, who is to blame for the scandalous delay, whether there are Poor Peasants' Committees[95] in Usman Uyezd and are they reliable.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

164

TELEGRAM TO V. N. KHARLOV

21. VIII. 1918

People's Commissar Comrade Kharlov
Saratov

The amount of surpluses mentioned by you is clearly underestimated. Collect more accurate information. Exemplary villages and volosts, i.e., those with the best organisa-

tion of the poor, should be singled out in order, first, to determine without concealment the amount of grain surpluses and, second, to award a big bonus to the volosts which have cleaned out and delivered all grain surpluses without exception. Pass this on to all food officials and telegraph reply. Push on grain shipments.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

165

TO MEDVEDEV, POLITICAL COMMISSAR OF THE 1st ARMY*

21. VIII. 1918

Comrade Medvedev,

Comrade Bosh told me about your meeting at the front, about the state of affairs at the front and about your doubts. She said that you were sure Syzran could and should be captured, *but did not want to write here about it*.

If this is so, you are in the wrong. That's what a commissar is for—to complain. Be sure to write (and telegraph) to me *about everything* and more frequently.

There has not once been a line from you.

That's too bad. It is not Party behaviour and is a failure to fulfil your duty to the state! It's too bad, really.

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

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* On the envelope of the letter Lenin wrote: "To Comrade *Medvedev* (*Political Commissar*) (From Lenin)."—*Ed*.

166

TO THE SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL

21. VIII. 1918

The bearers are representatives of the Turkestan Central Executive Committee. They are asking for a detachment of 100-200 men to be sent against Krasnovodsk (from Astrakhan). Please discuss their request and help them in every way, and telephone me the decision of the Supreme Military Council.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in part in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

167

TELEGRAMS TO A. K. PAIKES*

1

Paikes
Saratov

I shall speak right away by telephone with the military about all your requests.[96] For the time being I advise appointing your own chiefs and shooting conspirators and waverers without asking anybody and without allowing any idiotic red tape. As regards receiving a reply from me, either wait at the telegraph office, or have people take their turn of duty, or appoint a time in an hour or two. Reply.

Lenin

2

Paikes
Saratov

I have just spoken to Aralov. According to what he says, everything is already being done to send you shells.

* Transmitted by direct line.—*Ed.*

Loading begins today, so in two or three days it should be finished, Act more vigorously against the kulaks.

Lenin

Written on August 22, 1918
First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*
Printed from the original

168

TELEGRAM TO THE PENZA GUBERNIA COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.)

22. VIII. 1918

Turlo
Gubernia Committee
Penza
Copy to Minkin

I do not understand how Minkin could refuse to carry out decisions of the majority of the Gubernia Committee.[97] I hope this is only a misunderstanding. I insist that at a critical time of war all should work together harmoniously with the greatest determination, submitting to the majority, and that conflicts should be referred to the Central Committee without interrupting the work.

Lenin

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*
Printed from the original

169

TELEGRAM TO F. I. KOLESOV

Kolesov
Tashkent

We know little about the Caucasus and Baku. Information is unverified. Soviet power exists in the Northern Caucasus. Its troops are cut off from Tsaritsyn, which is besieged from the south by the Cossacks. The British have landed in Baku and the situation there is unstable. The Germans have agreed to guarantee there will be no offensive against Baku if we drive out the British from there. How

matters will turn out there is not known. As regards the military aid, we do not know where it is. We think it is held up near Tsaritsyn.*

As regards ambassadors and consuls, we advise a waiting attitude, keeping them under threefold surveillance and arresting suspicious individuals who are in contact with them.

We are considering and preparing some assistance for you, but cannot promise anything for certain, for everything depends on whether we shall be successful in driving the British out of Baku or whether they succeed in capturing a part of the Caspian coast.

Written on August 23, 1918
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV* Printed from the original

170
TELEGRAM TO A. G. SCHLICHTER

Schlichter
Vyatka

I have spoken on the telephone with the Commissariat for Food and they agree with me that it would be extremely important now for you to remain in Vyatka: first, for assistance and control in organising the most energetic defence of Kotlas and the preparation of explosives for the complete demolition, if need be, of the Kotlas-Vyatka railway. Second, and most important of all, for the most energetic food operations in connection with the successful progress being made in suppressing kulak revolts south of Vyatka, with a view to ruthless elimination of the kulaks, confiscation of all their grain and its transportation via Vologda and Nizhni-Novgorod, as well as for consolidating the organisation of the poor peasants.

Lenin

Written on August 23, 1918
First published on January 22, 1930, in the newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* No. 19 Printed from the original

* See this volume, Document 131.—*Ed.*

171
TELEGRAM TO S. P. SEREDA

Sereda, People's Commissar for Agriculture
Yelets

Take fullest advantage of the fine weather. Demand a food or harvesting detachment for each volost. Do not forget we need grain quickly and all grain surpluses should be swept up from at least one exemplary volost.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on August 26, 1918
First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*
Printed from the original

172
TELEGRAM TO A. P. SMIRNOV

26. VIII. 1918

Smirnov, People's Commissar for Internal Affairs
Saratov
(if he is away, forward to Urbach)

I insist that you definitely come to an agreement with Paikes, who is working splendidly and is rightly demanding independence for the two uyezds. I very much fear that you in Saratov are playing at collegiate methods at a time when the work demands energy and prompt action by responsible executives on the spot in the countryside and not in the towns.

Telegraph me after your talk with Paikes.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*
Printed from the original

173

TELEGRAM TO S. P. SEREDA

27. VIII. 1918

Sereda, People's Commissar for Agriculture
Yelets

If threshing on a mass scale is being held up, as you telegraph, by the sowing and harvesting of oats, then it should help matters to send out a large number of threshing detachments. It would be extremely important to speed up the business of supply by enlisting Moscow workers, Organise this immediately without fail. We must show the workers of Moscow clearly from their own mass experience that only their participation makes for rapid progress in food supply. Do this at once.

Lenin

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

174

TELEGRAM TO THE PENZA GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

28. VIII. 1918

Gubernia Executive Committee
Penza
Copy to the Gubernia Communist Organisation

Internal conflicts among Communists are extremely deplorable. It will be a disgrace if they are not done away with. Elect a commission at once to settle the matter in two days, for example, by dividing the uyezds among the most prominent functionaries so as to separate those who are quarrelling. Telegraph the decision of the commission.

Lenin

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

175
TO V. M. ALTFATER

1

Comrade *Altfater*

How do matters stand as regards sending submarines to the Volga and the Caspian Sea?

Is it true that we can send *only* old submarines?

How many of them are there?

When was the order given for them to be sent? *What in general has been done?*

Lenin

Written on August 28, 1918

2

Comrade Altfater

You cannot confine yourself to such vagueness—"we are searching" (*for your own property??* The *names* of the "searchers", the *date* they started searching, etc., should be given to me *by tomorrow*).

"Clearing up whether dispatch is possible"—this too is *vague* in the extreme.

Who gave the "clear up" orders, and *when*? Please let me know this tomorrow (30/8) precisely, officially.

The business of sending submarines brooks not a minute's delay.

Lenin

Written on August 29, 1918

First published on February 23, 1938, in *Pravda* No. 53

Printed from the original

176
TELEGRAM TO V. N. KHARLOV

29. VIII. 1918

Kharlov, People's Commissar for Agriculture
Petrovsk, Saratov Gubernia

If all forces in your uyezd have been mobilised, then obviously you must ask for threshing detachments of workers from here, for the harvesting of grain must be speeded up many times over. Telegraph daily how many waggons are being sent off, under what markings and where from. Announce a big bonus for the volost that is the first to sweep up all grain surpluses. Draw up lists by volosts of the richest peasants, who are answerable with their lives for the proper progress of the work to supply grain to the starving capital cities.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

177
TO A. D. TSYURUPA[98]

Tsyurupa

I do not advise putting it that way *just now* (it's something in between an ultimatum—resignation of all—and vacillation of *all* in the face of the resoluteness of *one*). Better *concentrate all efforts* on Yelets+Petrovsk+the best of the other uyezds.

Send out some two thousand workers as threshers, say.

And a few days later, after receiving *at least* news that so many hundred trucks are **en route**, raise the question more firmly.

Written on August 29, 1918

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

178
TO S. P. SEREDA

Comrade Sereda,

I'm very sorry you did not drop in. You should not have listened to the "overzealous" doctors.[99]

Why aren't things *working out* in Yelets Uyezd? This worries me very much, and still more your "side-stepping" on this question. Clearly, things do not work out. From 19 volosts with Poor Peasants' Committees, **not one** clear, precise report!

Not one Σ,* how many trucks, in what period of time?!!

In not one single volost (though there should be in 19) have 3-5 intelligent workers from Petrograd (with 15-50 assistants from Moscow) been brought in. *Nowhere* are there any indications that work is *proceeding apace*!

What is wrong? Please do reply. Appoint correspondents for me in *each* volost, give them this letter of mine, and let them *all* reply to me.

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written on September 6, 1918
First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*
Printed from the original

179
TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY

Secret
Ciphered
(Original to be returned to me)
(A copy of the cipher to be sent to me)

Trotsky
Sviyazhsk

I am surprised and worried at the slowing down of operations against Kazan, especially if it is true, as I have

* Total.—*Ed.*

been informed, that you have every opportunity of destroying the enemy by artillery. In my opinion, one must not spare the city and put things off any longer, for ruthless annihilation is essential once Kazan is said to be in an iron ring.[100]

Lenin

Written on September 10, 1918
First published (in facsimile) in 1930 in *Grazhdanskaya voina. 1918-1921*, Vol. III
Printed from the original

180

TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY

Top secret

Trotsky
Kazan or Sviyazhsk

Congratulations on the capture of Simbirsk.[101] I think the maximum effort must be made to clear Siberia as quickly as possible. Do not grudge money for bonuses. Telegraph whether Kazan's valuable objects have been saved and how many of them. Tomorrow I shall be back at work again.

Lenin

Written on September 12, 1918
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50
Printed from the text of the telegraph form

181

TO GRIGORY NAUMOVICH, FOR THE GROUP OF STUDENTS INTERESTED IN COMMUNISM

16. IX. 1918

Dear Comrades,

I was very glad to receive your letter. From my heart I wish you the most speedy success in your study of com-

munism, mastery of it, and commencement of practical work in the ranks of the Russian Communist Party.

With communist greetings,
V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

First published on April 21, 1962, in *Izvestia* No. 96

Printed from the typewritten copy

182

TELEGRAM TO THE POOR PEASANTS' COMMITTEES OF YELETS UYEZD

17. IX. 1918

To all volost Poor Peasants' Committees of Yelets Uyezd Yelets

By circular

Your telegrams received.[102]

It is impossible to confine oneself to general and vague expressions, which too often conceal the complete failure of the work. Accurate weekly figures are essential: first, exactly what part of the grain surpluses has been collected and delivered by which volosts; second, exactly how many poods of grain have been delivered, and to which elevators and granaries.

Without such data, all the rest is mere verbosity. Reply more exactly.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in part on January 21, 1927, in *Krasnaya Zvezda* No. 17

Published in full in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

183

TO THE EDITORS OF *PRAVDA*

18. IX. 1918

The bearer, Comrade Mikhail Nikolayevich *Sanayev*,* Chairman of the Sergach Uyezd Party Committee (and member of the E.C.), has very interesting things to tell about the class struggle in the countryside and the Poor Peasants' Committees.

It is extremely important that such *factual* material from the local areas should appear in the newspaper (there is far too much of "generalities"). Will you please take down what the comrade says and publish it.

With comradely greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

184

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Kamenev

Dear L. B.,

Get well quickly.

About "the fine theory of manoeuvring".

All theories are good *if* they correspond to objective reality.

But our reality has changed, for if Germany is defeated, it becomes impossible to manoeuvre, for there are no longer the two belligerents, *between whom we were manoeuvring*!!

Attention.** Britain would gobble us up, were it not for ... the Red Army.

---

* Evidently a slip of the pen: the person concerned was Mikhail Ivanovich Sanayev.—*Ed.*

** This word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

I don't think we should start talks about revision of Brest, as that now would be running ahead.... We must *wait and see*.

Get well!

Greetings,

Yours,

Lenin

Written between the end of September and October 1918

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

185

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH[103]

1/X. 1918

Dear Vladimir Dmitrievich,

Only this morning I heard the awful news. I cannot travel to Moscow, but I should like, if only in a letter, to grip your hand hard, very hard, to express my love and the love of all of us for Vera Mikhailovna, and to give you at least a little support, insofar as anyone can do so, in your terrible grief. Take good care of your daughter's health. Once more, a strong, firm handshake.

Yours,

V. Lenin

First published in 1958 in the book: *Slavniye Bolshevichki* (Outstanding Bolshevik Women) Moscow

Printed from the original

185

TELEGRAM TO A. A. JOFFE

Comrade Joffe
Berlin

We do not agree to sign the Turkish protocol until the hand-over of Baku to our authorities is accepted, for with-

out this clause there is every ground for suspecting secret agreements with the Entente for handing Baku over to them. We shall publish just that.[104]

Sverdlov, *Lenin*

Written on October 7, 1918
First published in 1957 in *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. I

Printed from the text of the telegraph tape

187

TO LYDIA FOTIEVA AND L. B. KRASIN

Lyd. Al. (and Krasin)

I am signing the telegram about oil, ships, etc., with pleasure.

But I don't agree to sign that about Mukhin.[105]

(1) Krasin writes that Mukhin *concealed money from Stalin*. This he had *no right* to do, even if "on the instructions of **his** (!!??) chiefs", for Stalin too is a chief, and a higher one, too, though not "his".

(2) It is wrong formally and impermissible generally to decide this *without asking Stalin* (and Stalin is in Moscow!!).

Greetings,
Lenin

Written on October 9, 1918
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

188

NOTE TO G. V. CHICHERIN OR L. M. KARAKHAN AND A LETTER TO A. A. JOFFE, J. A. BERZIN AND V. V. VOROVSKY

Comrades Chicherin or Karakhan

Will you please send to Berlin tomorrow, Friday, 12 copies of my article against Kautsky from *Pravda*[106] for

Joffe, Berzin and Vorovsky, and the following brief letter from me to them:

Dear Comrades,

I am very well aware of the shortcomings of my too brief article against Kautsky. Nevertheless, it is necessary for us, *as quickly as possible*, to take a stand, to express our opinion. Will you please have it translated and published as a leaflet.

Lenin

10/X. 1918

First published in 1957 in the journal *Novaya i Noveishaya Istoria* No. 4

Printed from the original

189

TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND L. M. KARAKHAN

Comrades Chicherin and Karakhan

Regarding the Note to Wilson, I think it should be sent.

Write it in detail, politely, but caustically, saying: in any case we consider it our duty to propose peace—even to governments of capitalists and multimillionaires—in order to try to stop the bloodshed and *to open the eyes of the peoples*.

The fall of Kazan, Simbirsk, Syzran and Samara has obviously exploded such-and-such rumours....

Do the capitalists want some of the forests in the north, part of Siberia, interest on 17 thousand millions?[107] If so, then surely they won't make a secret of it. We propose to you: state outright, **how much***? Regarding the Brest peace—Germany will agree to withdraw her troops. What's the matter then? Do you want to replace the German troops with *your own troops*?

And so on.

I suggest that you immediately draft such a Note, and we shall discuss it together.[108]

* The words "how much" are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

Pravda wanted to publish my article against Kautsky Friday morning. Did you receive from Sverdlov my note asking for 12 copies to be sent to Joffe *for Berzin and Vorovsky*, for them to publish as a leaflet? and to have these dispatched Friday evening? } N.B.

What news is there from Litvinov?[109]

What has been done about publishing *Japanese* leaflets?

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. We *can* talk things over on the telephone.

Written on October 10, 1918
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50
Printed from the original

190
TO J. A. BERZIN

15/X. 1918

Comrade Berzin

Dear Comrade,

I have received from you odd copies, as always, of foreign newspapers (can't you have someone make *cuttings* of (a) *everything* about Russia; (b) everything about the socialist parties of all countries).

I see from them, incidentally, that Graber and Grimm have stupidly and basely attacked Guilbeaux. How could you see something had in his taking the money? *I don't understand.*

You can't censure a valuable comrade without *formally* going into the matter!? Who of the *Party members* (appointed by you) went into it? No one! Yet from Guilbeaux's information and from the decision of the Geneva Commission it is as clear as clear can be that the case is *in favour of* Guilbeaux.

N.B. Send me: Longuet, *La politique internationale du marxisme. Karl Mart et la France*. Vandervelde, *L'Etat et le socialisme** and *all* similar pamphlets in French, German, English and Italian, *all*, *all*, **all!** Also: *La Russie socialiste* (*socialistes-révolutionnaires de gauche*), see *La Feuille* (Genève),[110] 3. X. 1918.** Pierre Loti, *Quelques aspects du vertige mondial*, Paris (Flammarion). Leon-Frapie, *Les contes de la guerre* (ibid.).

I have just received from Sverdlov a set of your publications (it would do no harm if you sent this set to me as well).

Too little! Too little!! Too little!!!

Engage a group of translators and publish 10 times as much. **Peluso** can (and should) write three small pamphlets a week (on all subjects, compilations from our newspapers—you provide the **themes** and a list of the articles suitable for *compilation*). His article in *Droit du Peuple**** ("Counter-Revolutionaries") is *good*. Pay him well *and publish* **10 times** *as much*. (Translators must be engaged, in order to publish in *4* languages: *French*, *German*, *English* and **Italian.** You have *nothing* in the last two. Scandalous! Scandalous!!)

You have *plenty* of money. (Send without fail an *account* of the sums you have spent.) We shall give *more and still more*, *in plenty*. Write how much.

A 100 times more must be published, in 4 languages, pamphlets of 4-8-16-32 pages. *Engage* people for this.

N.B. Collect a set of Spartakusbund (I have seen No. 11, IX. 1918)[112] and republish the entire set *in 4 languages*. Also Junius and Liebknecht. Commission a *history* of the struggle against social-chauvinism in Britain, France, Germany,

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* Apparently this refers to E. Vandervelde's pamphlet *Le Socialisme contre l'Etat*, Paris, 1918.—*Ed.*

** I think the Left S.R.s have here lied terribly. It is necessary at once to commission someone (Leiteisen even) to make a compilation from *Pravda* and *Izvestia* against the lies of the Left S.R.s (and also from *Znamya Trudovoi Kommuny* and from *Volya Truda*[111]).

*** *Droit du Peuple*—a weekly, organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland, and of the party branches in the canton of Vaud and the city of Lausanne.—*Ed.*

Italy. Form groups for this purpose (Gorter, Balabanova+? +??, etc.).

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. What is your optimism about revolutions in the countries de l'Entente based on? Facts? Considerations? If necessary, send in code, but write more precisely.

If you are ill, undergo treatment *seriously* and *do not leave* the sanatorium. Keep in touch by telephone, and send your deputy for visits. *N.B.*

Sent to Berne

First published in part on January 21, 1925, in *Pravda* No. 17

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

191

TO A. A. JOFFE

18. X. 1918

Comrade Joffe,

Send me, please, the issue of *Sozialistische Auslandspolitik* which had Martov's article on dictatorship.[113]

Such things should be sent immediately.

Ditto—newspaper *cuttings* (instead of the unreadable summaries)—*everything* relating to the split with the social-chauvinists and Kautskyites (with a translation into German from the Dutch and Scandinavian languages).

We ought to act as a bureau for ideological work of an international character, but we are doing nothing!!

A hundred times more must be published. We have the money. Engage translators. But we are doing nothing! It is scandalous....

Please send this letter also to Vorovsky, and forward the enclosure, please, to the proper quarter.[114]

Yours,
Lenin

Sent to Berlin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

192
TO A. A. JOFFE

18/X. 1918

Dear Comrade Joffe,

I received your letter of 13. X *after* sending off a letter to you.

I am not against continuing the "diplomatising". But its importance has diminished. The whole point is whether the Entente manages to land in force in the Black Sea. I have long been talking to everyone everywhere about this danger, and have said it clearly in the letter to the Central Executive Committee.[115] The radical difference from II. 1918 is that at that time we *had* a chance to win time by giving away territory. Now there is *no* such chance.

Mit besten Grüssen,
Ihr *Lenin*

Sent to Berlin
First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

193
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

21. X. 1918

Comrade Gorbunov,

I earnestly request you to *speed up* as much as possible the Science and Technology Department's findings in regard to the Radio Laboratory. *It is extremely urgent*. Drop me a line when its findings are ready.[116]

Greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

194

APPLICATION TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE SOVIET JOURNALISTS' TRADE UNION

Please enrol me as a member of the Soviet Journalists' Trade Union.

Vl. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

Written in October, not later than 22, 1918
Published on October 24, 1918, in *Pravda* No. 230

Printed from the newspaper text

195

TELEGRAM TO P. P. SYTIN

3 addresses: Sytin, Kozlov
Trotsky, Tsaritsyn
Voroshilov, Tsaritsyn

We are receiving desperate telegrams from Voroshilov about non-receipt of shells and cartridges despite his repeated demands and insistence.

Have this checked immediately, take the most urgent measures to meet his demands and notify us what has been done. Give names of persons responsible for fulfilment.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars*

Written on October 24, 1918,
First published in 1936 in the journal *Partrabotnik* (Stalingrad) No. 16-17

Printed from the original

* The document is signed also by Y. M. Sverdlov, Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. He wrote the sentence "Give names of persons responsible for fulfilment".—*Ed.*

196
TO J. A. BERZIN

25. X. 1918

Comrade Berzin

Dear Comrade B.,

What's this story about Herzog's expulsion?*

I think we should speak *in his favour*. Don't forget, the people who have expelled him are scoundrels, opportunists.

Write about this.

I hope you have wound up the Guilbeaux "affair" in the sense of having fully recognised him as rehabilitated. Give him my regards. Where is he?

When will the French edition of *The State and Revolution* appear?[117] Have I time to write a preface against Vandervelde?

Send me: Vandervelde, *Le Socialisme contre l'Etat*; *La Belgique envahie et le Socialisme international*; *Trois aspects de la révolution russe*. All three are published by Berger-Levrault, Paris, 5-7, rue des Beaux-Arts.

Please collect all pamphlets of this kind (English, French, Italian, German).

Send information about France more often. What goes on there? How are things there?

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

Sent to Berne

First published on January 21, 1925, in *Pravda* No. 17

Printed from the original

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* The expulsion of Jakob Herzog from the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland.—*Ed.*

197

TELEGRAM TO THE URALS ECONOMIC COUNCIL

Urals Economic Council, Perm
Copies to Executive Committee, Usolye
Berezniki Works Management, Usolye

I direct the Berezniki works to immediately start organising a radium factory in accordance with the decision of the Supreme Economic Council.[118] The necessary funds have been allocated by the Council of People's Commissars. The work should be carried out under the direction and on the responsibility of chemical engineer Bogoyavlensky, who is to be given the fullest assistance by you.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars*

Written on October 28, 1918
First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from
the typewritten text
signed by Lenin

198

TO THE BOARD OF PROPERTIES OF MOSCOW'S PEOPLE'S PALACES[119]

I earnestly request the Board of Properties of Moscow's People's Palaces to gratify the request of the Children's Homes Department of the People's Commissariat for Social Security.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

1/XI. 1918

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

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* The telegram was signed also by L. Y. Karpov, head of the Chemical Department of the Supreme Economic Council, and N. P. Gorbunov, head of the Science and Technology Department of the Supreme Economic Council.—*Ed.*

199
TO J. A. BERZIN

1/XI.

Dear Berzin,

I have received a lot of books from you. Many thanks.

I hear that all are at loggerheads over there. We shall take Shklovsky and Zalkind.

In case of anything, write; I shall sign your *orders* (to your subordinates), so that they will not dare quarrel and will strictly carry out your orders.

Stay in bed and follow the treatment *strictly*; you ought to be living *not* in Berne, but in the mountains in the sunshine, in some place where there is a telephone and a railway, and you should send a secretary to Berne and people should travel *to* you.

In the German translation of *The State and Revolution* an unfortunate error has crept in: the postscript is *not* dated. Yet the *whole* point is to show that the *postscript* was written *after* the October Revolution. Namely: 30. XI. 1917. Could not a correction slip be pasted in?

Some capable comrades are on their way to you. *Do not grudge money*, particularly through them, for propaganda in France.

All the very best,

Yours,

Lenin

N.B. Prepare **everything** for the eventuality that the Entente will force Switzerland to deport you. *Bereit sein!!*[120]

P.S. If the French translation of *The State and Revolution* is ready, put it out *at once*, but in the publisher's preface criticise *both* Kautsky and *Vandervelde* (*Le Socialisme contre l'Etat*), because Vandervelde *slurred over*, concealed, distorted *everything of importance* about the state.

I am sending about half a pamphlet against Kautsky. Will you please have it translated *as quickly as possible* and let me know by telegram: *Antikautsky* is being trans-

lated into German, French or Italian. Otherwise I'll have it done here.

I hope you sent *Staat und Revolution* to Berlin? **The more the better!**

Written on November 1, 1918
Sent to Berne

First published in part on January 21, 1925, in *Pravda* No. 17

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

200

TELEGRAM TO THE COMMANDER OF THE 2nd ARMY

I greet the valiant Red Army troops who captured Izhevsk. Congratulations on the anniversary of the revolution. Long live the socialist Red Army![121]

Lenin

Written on November 7, 1918
Sent to Vyatskiye Polyany

First published in 1928 in *Grazhdanskaya voina. 1918-1921*, Vol. I

Printed from the text of the telegraph form

201

TO R. I. BERZIN

Comrade Berzin

I take this opportunity to send greetings through you to the troops of the 3rd Army and wishes for every success.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written in November between 9 and 23, 1918

Published on November 23, 1918, in the newspaper *Krasny Nabat* (Perm) No. 60

Printed from the newspaper text

202
TO B. S. WEISSBROT

Comrade Weissbrot,

You happen to be in Vienna....* I hope you will do everything you can to find the *Lefts*. Perhaps Strasser (Josef Strasser) will help find them, although he himself, probably, is *not* ...* to help them.

Write *more often*, with every courier.

If possible (if you have good connections, etc.) try to rescue my library from *Poronin* (Galizien)**: I left it there at the dacha with my things in 1914, I had to pay a balance of 50 kronen; now I would give 100,000,000 to have the library rescued. But that ...* is a personal matter.[122]

The important thing is to find the *Lefts* in Vienna and to *help* them in every way. I'm afraid you won't succeed in this owing to the lack of connections, but try to do everything possible.

Write.

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

11/XI. 1918

Sent to Vienna

First published in part in 1940 in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 4

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

203
TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV

13/XI—18

Comrade Bryukhanov,

Will you please assist the bearers, Comrades Sadkov and Renqvist, representatives of the Finnish Communist Club

* The manuscript is partly damaged.—*Ed.*

** Lenin made an insertion here in the manuscript, the legible part of which reads: "...I lived in *Poronin* under my own name...." —*Ed.*

and the Finnish railwaymen. Cannot they be given the 9,000 poods they need from the Moscow warehouses or, if that is absolutely impossible, from the Tambov grain collection depots? *It is essential* to help them.[123]

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the typewritten copy

204

TELEGRAM TO I. I. VATSETIS

Urgent
Top priority
15. XI. 1918

Commander-in-Chief Vatsetis
Serpukhov
Copy to Trotsky

I request you to decide in favour of the plan of the Central Bureau of the occupied countries* for forming Polish and Lithuanian shock battalions, in particular a Western brigade on the Southern Front. I am reminding Trotsky of our decision.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

205

TO THE MANAGER OF THE PEOPLE'S BANK[124]

I think there has been enough celebrating. *It is ludicrous!*

---

* This refers to the Central Bureau of Communist Organisations in the occupied regions.—*Ed.*

We shall "celebrate" 14. XII by a nice, correct, skilful, rapid *merger* of the Co-operative Bank with the State Bank.

Lenin

19. XI. 1918

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

206

TELEGRAM TO THE TECHNICAL COMMITTEE OF THE ECONOMIC COUNCIL OF THE NORTHERN AREA

21. XI. 1918

Technical Committee
Northern Economic Council
Petrograd

I severely reprimand you for procrastination and nonfulfilment of the directive of the Science and Technology Department of the Supreme Economic Council for the delivery of materials to the Central Science and Technology Laboratory of the Military Department. I demand that the materials be issued immediately and that every assistance be given in accelerating the experiments. Report fulfilment.[125]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

207

TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

21. XI. 1918

Zinoviev
Smolny
Petrograd

Today I severely reprimanded the Technical Committee of the Northern Economic Council for procrastination. Explain to the Economic Council of the Northern Area that

its duty is to expedite experiments and ensure speedy fulfilment of the assignments of the Science and Technology Department of the Supreme Economic Council. If the document from the Technical Committee dated November 13, No. 646, is not merely a case of procrastination and stupidity, but malicious sabotage, then I demand an investigation and the arrest of those guilty.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

208

TELEGRAM TO V. M. GITTIS

23. XI. 1918

Army Commander Gittis
Vologda

I am entirely in sympathy with your plan to release prisoners of war, but only a few at a time and exclusively those who have really been won over by our propaganda. Telegraph me at once, if necessary in code, how many prisoners you have, of what nationality, and how many of them have been propagandised.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

209

TO G. V. CHICHERIN[126]

A *very* detailed and *caustic* reply must be drawn up. Do we recognise the German Government? *Is it recognised by all* the Councils of Deputies in Germany? If it is, then we, too, recognise it.

"Not to influence"? By word of mouth, by the press?

From the viewpoint of democracy or dictatorship? Please clarify, but we declare that if they demand in the form of an *ultimatum* that we *do not carry on agitation*, we shall *not* break with them on that account.

Written on November 23, 1918
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50
Printed from the original

210

TO THE BUSINESS MANAGER OF THE C.P.C.

I am *for* using this palace as a museum. Get Sverdlov's *written* consent.[127]

Lenin

26/XI.

Written on November 26, 1918
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50
Printed from the original

211

CONVERSATION BY DIRECT LINE WITH B. M. VOLIN NOVEMBER 29, 1918

Comrade Volin, Chairman of the Orel Gubernia Executive Committee and Gubernia Party Committee, on the line:

I have just received a telegram from Surazh as follows: "On November 29, a congress of German Councils in the Ukraine is taking place at Gomel. It is essential to send representatives. We have sent the head of the Information Department, and others. We are conducting talks with a big German Council in the Ukraine and are enlisting in the Red Army volunteers from the German army. Send directives for talks to our representatives in the Ukraine. Our representatives have been guaranteed safety, they are under German protection. The temper of the German army is thoroughly Bolshevik." I decided today to send to Gomel a Communist, Chairman of the Soviet, and a German, the Communist Meyer, from the International Detachment. Should the Chairman of the Orel Soviet only make a speech of greetings or can he take upon himself a political mission? I am asking you for a directive. If you know of this congress and have sent your representatives, then perhaps our delegation is not necessary.

Lenin: I know nothing about this congress. I advise you to get in touch immediately with the Ukrainian Communists and with their Central Committee via Kursk. The reports about the majority of the German Councils being on the side of the Bolsheviks must be carefully verified. If this is not the case, then it is necessary at the congress to deliver a detailed, well-substantiated, principled speech about Bolshevism and its tasks. If, however, the German soldiers are already Bolsheviks or Spartacists, then we must propose to them an immediate alliance with us for the speediest restoration of Soviet power in the Ukraine and for the arrest not only of whiteguards, but also of the supporters of the Rada. In any case people must be sent to the congress who are capable of accurately reporting back all the discussions and resolutions.

If it is already too late to send new representatives to the congress, then try to wire my note through to the people you have already sent. I await a reply.

Volin: Vladimir Ilyich, I informed you that I decided to send the Chairman of the Soviet to Gomel. He is leaving tonight. That was why I asked for your directive. Simultaneously with this I shall try to get in touch with Kursk.

Lenin: I am very glad that you are sending the chairman to the congress. I hope you are satisfied with my suggestions. Arrange for me to get information about each day of the congress.[128]

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the typewritten copy

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

212

TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

30. XI. 1918

Zinoviev
Smolny
Petrograd
Copy to Strievsky

Volkov, representative of Petrosoyuz,* and Misyursky, a delegate from the conference of workers' co-operatives of

* Petrograd Co-operative Union.—*Ed.*

the Northern Region, declare that there was not and could not be any shadow of assistance to counter-revolutionaries in paying salaries and wages to office staff and workers one month in advance. They promise to dispel the misunderstanding that has arisen, and express a desire to work with complete loyalty on the basis of the new decree.[129] Khinchuk confirms their assurances.

Please go into the matter closely and give the co-operators an opportunity to work.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

213

TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

3. XII. 1918

Copy to the Chairman
of the *Petrograd* Section of the *Vecheka**

Comrade Zinoviev,

Comrade Karl Moor, a Swiss, has sent me a long letter asking for *Palchinsky* to be set free on the grounds that he is a prominent technician and organiser, author of Many books, etc. I have heard and read about Palchinsky as having been a speculator, etc., *during Kerensky's time*.

But I do not know whether there is now any evidence against Palchinsky? Of what kind? Is it serious? Why has the amnesty law not been applied to him?[130]

If he is a scientist, a writer, could he not—if there are serious charges against him—be given special treatment (for example, house arrest, a laboratory, etc.).

Please reply to me *immediately in writing*.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Sent to Petrograd

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

* All-Russia Extraordinary Commission.—*Ed.*

214

TELEGRAM TO THE TAMBOV GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

7. XII. 1918

Gubernia Executive Committee
Tambov
Copy to Uyezd Executive Committee
Borisoglebsk

Received a complaint from Ivan Bogdanov about the arrest for sabotage of his 17-year-old son, Vladimir, who is suffering from bronchitis. Re-examine the case, check as to the illness, inexperience, youth of the arrested person, and particularly investigate whether the real saboteurs were not the 30 officials of the Commissariat for Agriculture who had refused to do the work and shifted it on to Bogdanov. Telegraph the result of the check.[131]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

215

TO L. B. KAMENEV[132]

If you go deeper into the matter you will see that this manoeuvring is precisely a **concession to an alien element**, namely, the "free trader".

Written on December 10, 1918

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

216

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

11. XII. 1918

Dear V. D.,

I am sending you a pamphlet on the implementation of laws Think of a *title* that would be most clear, striking and resounding.

And publish it **as quickly as possible.**[133]

Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

217
TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY

12. XII. 1918

Trotsky
Voronezh
or present whereabouts

Astrakhan wires re necessity of stepping up work by the flotilla* in view of the uprising of the Bolsheviks in Georgia and the highly dangerous menace of a British advance. Would you not find it useful if Raskolnikov, who for some reason is hanging around in Moscow, were sent to Astrakhan?

Lenin

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

218
TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

12. XII. 1918

Dear Comrade Shlyapnikov,

I am taking this opportunity to send you greetings and materials for the investigation.[134] Think it over thoroughly in advance and discuss it with 2 or 3 of **the most reliable** members of the Cheka, and catch the scoundrels named here **without fail.** Spare no effort to catch and shoot the

* The Astrakhan-Caspian naval flotilla.—*Ed.*

Astrakhan profiteers and bribe-takers. This riffraff must be dealt with in such a way that everyone will remember it *for years to come*.

The materials, I have been told, come from an *honest* tradesman who has remained here.

Regarding your requests and commissions, I have phoned, asked and repeated them.* I hope that part—and the most substantial part—will be met. The whole, of course, is beyond our resources.

Telegraph what items among those outstanding are most urgently required.

Do your utmost to carry out repairs and increase the carrying capacity of the Astrakhan railway line.

What success has been achieved at sea? With our fleet? With the base near Kizlyar?[135]

Write!

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

Sent to Astrakhan

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Published in full in 1956 in the book: V. I. Lenin, *Voyennaya perepiska* (War Correspondence), Moscow

Printed from the original

219

TELEGRAMS TO L. D. TROTSKY

1

Trotsky at his present whereabouts

Perm is in a dangerous plight.[136] I consider it essential to send reinforcements. Petrograd can provide regiments

* This refers to the speeding up of deliveries of arms and munitions to Astrakhan.—*Ed.*

of Soviet poor peasants, there are two of them there, or others, at the direction of the Revolutionary Military Council. We propose that you give the appropriate directives as quickly as possible. We propose that you point out to the Revolutionary Military Council* the tremendous importance of Kizel District of Perm which supplies coal to the factories and the entire railway. The loss of Kizel will halt traffic.

*Lenin***

Written on December 12, 1918
First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the text
of the telegraph tape

2

All coded
13. XII. 191

Trotsky
Voronezh
or present whereabouts

News from around Perm is extremely alarming. Danger threatens it. I am afraid we forgot about the Urals. Bring pressure to bear on Vatsetis without fail and check whether he is sufficiently energetically providing reinforcements for Perm and the Urals. Lashevich told Zinoviev that only blooded units should be sent.

Lenin

First published in part on
February 23, 1938, in *Pravda*
No. 53
First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

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* The Revolutionary Military Council of the Eastern Front.—*Ed.*

** The telegram was signed also by Sverdlov.—*Ed.*

220

TO G. I. PETROVSKY[137]

Petrovsky

I demand *immediate* institution of the *strictest* investigation and a report to me on its institution and the *result*.

Lenin

16/XII.

Written on December 16, 1918
First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*
Printed from the original

221

TO Y. M. SVERDLOV

Sverdlov,
for your information

Yesterday, 15/XII, Bukharin told me that, as testified by Yem. Yaroslavsky, Spiridonova is conducting *party* propaganda.[138]

Written on December 16, 1918
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50
Printed from the original

222

TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY

21. XII. 1918

To the Vecheka

Comrade Dzerzhinsky,

I enclose a complaint.

Please find out without fail who is responsible for this red tape (*no* reply from 3.XII to 20.XII!! Yet the decree *is dated 21. XI!!!*) and prosecute.[139] Such a disgraceful thing

must not he allowed to go unpunished. Apparently there are saboteurs in the office.

Further, you must appoint a person to *take charge* of the speedy, immediate transfer of the warehouses.

Report what you have done.

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

223
TO D. A. BULATOV

25. XII. 1918

Bulatov, Chairman of the Gubernia Executive Committee
Tver

I authorise you to investigate the enclosed complaint and report the result to me as soon as possible.

Report essentials by telegraph ("re the case of the schoolteacher Ivanova").

Particularly important: check the statement that in the Poor Peasants' Committee there are former and present *elements of the Black Hundreds*: Teterin, Skvortsov, Kozlov, Baskakov.

Start the check discreetly to prevent premature publicity and be able to catch them red-handed and expose them completely.

Should the accusation prove to be true, these Black Hundreders must be kicked out publicly and a leaflet about the affair *promulgated* throughout the volost and uyezd, for the population *must* be taught that well-founded complaints are of great significance and lead to important results.

Telegraph me: "Letter received, directive will be carried out", and then about the *progress* of the investigation.

Send the results by letter, the exact findings of the investigation and the *measures taken*.

I think that as Chairman of the Gubernia Executive Committee you need no special mandate from me for such a simple case. If need be, I will send it.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

N.B. Enclosed herewith is V. S. Ivanova's complaint.[140]

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

224

TELEGRAM TO S. A. BANK[141]

Bank, Chairman of the Uyezd Economic Council
Vyshny Volochok

Army stores are at the disposal of the military authorities. Hand over army stocks to the military department; unseal all stores; distribute property among the departments; carry out stocktaking without interrupting current work.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

Written on December 25, 1918
First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

225

TELEGRAM TO THE RODNIKI EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE[142]

Rodniki Executive Committee
Rodniki, Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia
Copy to the Cheka

Immediately unseal the store-room and living-room of Pyotr Ilyich Surkov in Kutilovo village. Report the names

of those who did the sealing and the explanation of their action, why they are requisitioning books. Wire execution.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

226

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE REPUBLIC

27. XII. 1918

Revolutionary Military Council
Serpukhov

I fully agree with Trotsky's telegram on fraternisation.[143] Please urgently draft an instruction on fraternisation and especially encourage it on the Northern Front.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

227

TELEGRAM TO THE MANAGEMENT OF THE YUZHSK FACTORY

28. XII. 1918

Management of the Yuzhsk nationalised factory
Vyazniki

Two days ago the Food Commissariat issued an urgent order for grain to be delivered from Nizhni-Novgorod for the Vyazniki distribution centre. I advise going to Nizhni. I authorise you to make a check and urge speed. Complain to me if there is any red tape.[144]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

228

TELEGRAM TO THE RODNIKI EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

28. XII. 1918

Executive Committee
Rodniki, Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia

Mail all your decisions on libraries. Surkov agrees to hand over his library to the local workers' reading-room, and this seems to me fair.[145]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

229

TO THE LIBRARY SECTION OF THE COMMISSARIAT FOR EDUCATION[146]

30. XII. 1918

Please receive the bearer, Comrade Prokofiev. His request for the requisitioning of Surkov's library for a district of 40,000 people is, in my opinion, correct. Surkov, perhaps, should retain certain rights to use it? Please send me a copy of your decision on this question, and help the Rodniki comrades to expand their library. Can they not be sent one of the libraries requisitioned from the landowners? Please inform me about this as well.[147]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

230

TO S. P. SEREDA

1) When will the pamphlet *Issue VI. Materials on Land Reform* be published?

2) The remaining issues should be speeded up.[148]
(This publication is *extremely* important.)

3) I think at least *half a page* should be added *clearly* setting forth the *policy* of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture (otherwise, there is the danger that the pamphlet, "in going among the people", will muddle them up).

Written at the end of 1918
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

231

NOTE ON THE PUBLICATION OF LEAFLETS

I agree.

More and more such leaflets (with translations into *French*, *Italian* and Ukrainian) should be sent *at once also to the south*, to the Ukraine, to meet the British.[149]

Lenin

Written at the end of 1918
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50
Printed from the original

1919

232

TO V. I. NEVSKY[150]

What has been done to *speed up* train traffic?

When was the order given for this traffic to be run at *passenger service* speed? Obtain for me information on *traffic speed*.

Written on January 1, 1919

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

233

TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

1. I. 1919

Zinoviev
Smolny
Petrograd

I have given orders for trucks to be dispatched to Petrograd from Moscow and from Nizhni-Novgorod by passenger trains. See to it. If you were caught napping during the hold-up a month ago and failed to lodge a complaint in time, then you can blame yourself also for not having taken steps to verify the speed of trucks after our telephone conversation on Friday.*

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

* December 27, 1918.—*Ed.*

234

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE COMMISSARIAT FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS

January 1, 1919

Greetings and New Year salutations to the Communist group. With all my heart I wish that in the new year we shall all commit fewer stupidities than in the old and that the building up of Soviet power, to which the comrades of the Commissariat for Internal Affairs in particular are devoting their labours, will be carried to a successful conclusion.

Lenin

Pravda No. 3, January 4, 1919

Printed from the typewritten copy, collated with the newspaper text

235

TO A. N. PROKOFIEV

3. I. 1919

Comrade Prokofiev,

I am sending you Bryusov's letter.[151] Please return it to me with information as to how you settled the question of Surkov's library.

I hope, nevertheless, you will do everything possible to give Surkov *some* satisfaction: for example, the right to use it, *and so forth*.

It appears you should have approached the *Library Section of the Extra-Mural Department*. I will ask them to take care of you.[152]

With communist greetings,

V. Ulyanov (*N. Lenin*)

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

236

TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY

To be coded
3. I. 1919

Trotsky
Voronezh
or present whereabouts

Am very uneasy about whether you are not giving too much attention to the Ukraine to the detriment of the general strategic task, on which Vatsetis insists and which consists in a speedy, determined and general offensive against Krasnov. I am very much afraid that we are being late with this and that the recent successes of the Krasnovites near Tsaritsyn will again lead to the postponement of our offensive and to our missing the right moment. The initiative for serious operations is escaping from us, both at Astrakhan and on the Caspian Sea, as well as at Tsaritsyn and in the east. Vatsetis is for a speedy general offensive against Krasnov, but Vatsetis, apparently, is not able to cope with red tape and the separatism of the Ukrainians and other regionalists. Should you not concentrate wholly on hastening and carrying through a general offensive against Krasnov?

Lenin

First published in part in *Grazhdanskaya voina. 1918-1921*, Vol. III
Published in full in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

237

TO THE VESYEGONSK UYEZD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE TVER GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

3. I. 1919

Please discuss the question of helping the Vasyutino Committee of the R.C.P. with timber, a financial loan and a library for the restoration of the People's House de-

stroyed by fire. If help is required from the centre, notify me simultaneously with applications to the appropriate People's Commissariats.[153]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Izvestia of the Vesyegonsk Soviet of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies No. 2 (30), January 18, 1919

Printed from the newspaper text

238

TELEGRAM TO RYABININ[154]

5. I. 1919

Ryabinin, Chairman, general meeting of workers
Gorkino, Northern Railway

The delegates may come whenever they like. I shall try to see them personally, but if I cannot, then it will be through the secretary.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

239

TELEGRAM TO THE SIMBIRSK GUBERNIA FOOD COMMISSAR

A committee from 42 organisations of starving Petrograd and Moscow workers is complaining about your inefficiency. I demand the maximum effort on your part, an end to a formal attitude to the work and the utmost assistance to the starving workers. In the event of failure, I shall be compelled to arrest the entire staff of your institutions and have them prosecuted. I have given urgent orders to

increase the number of locomotives and trucks. You should immediately load the available two trains of 30 trucks each. Telegraph fulfilment.

You are obliged to receive grain from the peasants day and night. If it is confirmed that you have not been accepting grain after 4 p.m. and compelling the peasants to wait until the morning, you will be shot.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on January 6, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the typewritten copy

240

TELEGRAM TO S. I. GUSEV FOR THE UFA REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

Gusev
Revolutionary Military Council, Eastern Front
Arzamas

Inform the Revolutionary Committee in Ufa for their guidance that negotiations must be begun immediately with the Socialist-Revolutionaries who are proposing negotiations, after taking all precautions against attempts at provocations and for safeguarding the front, while at the same time guaranteeing absolute personal immunity to the envoys from the Socialist-Revolutionaries. At the talks it is to be stated clearly straight away that there can be no question of any change in the Soviet Constitution, because Soviet power, being the power of the exploited classes for suppressing the exploiters, has definitely proved its necessity for securing victory over the bourgeoisie, and the Soviet movement is now spreading to all countries of the world.

Continually report directly to us on the whole course of the negotiations, and on the participants of both sides.[155]

*Lenin, Sverdlov**

Written on January 6, 1919

First published in 1960 in the book: Y. M. Sverdlov, *Izbranniye proizvedeniya v trekh tomakh* (Selected Works in three volumes), Vol. 3**

Printed from the original

241

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE CASPIAN-CAUCASIAN FRONT, THE ASTRAKHAN GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND GUBERNIA COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.)

Shlyapnikov, Gubernia Executive Committee
Gubernia Committee of the Party of Communists
*Astrakhan****

A conflict with the Party Committee is inadmissible. Take all steps to ensure proper teamwork. All Party members, irrespective of the post they occupy, must belong to the local organisation. The Party Committee should not interfere in the work of institutions directly subordinated to the centre. It has the right only to put its views before the Central Committee. All local work is directed by the Party centre. Intervention is possible from within or if there is a special instruction of the C.C. on some concrete question. Similar relations should be established with the Gubernia Executive Committee. Only in the event of non-fulfilment of decrees or of work against the decisions of the central authority is direct intervention possible. Great tact is essential, then conflicts will be impossible. General talk about the need for a radical purge in military institutions is of no

* The last sentence of the telegram and the signatures are in Sverdlov's handwriting.—*Ed.*

** In this publication it is erroneously indicated that the telegram was written by Sverdlov.—*Ed.*

*** The word "Astrakhan" is in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

value. We shall take note of concrete references to particular facts or persons.

*Lenin**

Written on January 7 or 8, 1919

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the text
in Sverdlov's handwriting
and signed by Lenin

242

DIRECTIVE TO THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF[156]

We append three signatures of C.C. members to the demand of the two C.C. members, and forward this demand, as a demand of the Central Committee, to the military authorities for fulfilment.

Members of the C.C., R.C.P.

Moscow, 8. I. 1919

*Lenin***

First published (in facsimile)
in 1939 in *Voyenno-Istorichesky Zhurnal* No. 5

Printed from the original

243

TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE

9. I. 1919

Front Headquarters
Astrakhan
for transmission by radio to Orjonikidze
Vladikavkaz

Received your first telegram. I thank you and send greetings. Please report more frequently.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

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* This is followed by the signature of Sverdlov in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

** There follow the signatures of Sverdlov and Smilga.—*Ed.*

244
TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

10. I. 1919

Zinoviev
Smolny
Petrograd

From my talks with Ravich and Kalinin, and from Shadurskaya's telegram I gather that nine-tenths of the top machinery of government in Petrograd are engaged in doing nothing. I advise you to think over and urgently carry out a reorganisation, by transferring tens, if not hundreds, of the best people to actual control of transport, with you yourself heading the actual control of the food trains. Otherwise there is no salvation.

Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

245
TELEGRAM TO THE RYAZAN GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

12. I. 1919

Gubernia Executive Committee
Ryazan

What steps have been taken in connection with the large-scale profiteering discovered by the State Control in public dining-rooms?[157]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

246

TELEGRAM TO THE SUZDAL UYEZD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE[158]

12. I. 1919

Uyezd Executive Committee
Suzdal, Vladimir Gubernia
Copy to *Gubernia Executive Committee*
Vladimir

Check very strictly the behaviour of the anti-profiteer detachments and the Extraordinary Commission in Gavrilov Posad. Are receipts being issued for the requisitioned grain, are accounts properly kept, what is being done with the requisitioned grain? Telegraph fulfilment.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

247

INSTRUCTION TO THE SECRETARY[159]

The first intelligent report. Find out who *Pashkov* is, write to the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs that I welcome this *first intelligent report*, I thank Pashkov, and demand *the same* from others.

Written on January 13, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

248

TELEGRAM TO A. P. KUDRYAVTSEV

Kudryavtsev, Head of Library Section, Commissariat for Education
Petrograd

Guard Struve's library, deposited at the Polytechnical Institute, from being looted. Hand over the most valuable

items to the Public Library, the remainder to the Polytechnical Institute. The portrait of Gerd by Yaroshenko should be handed to Nina Alexandrovna Struve through the Director of the Polytechnical Institute.

Telegraph fulfilment.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on January 13, 1919
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

249

TO A. D. TSYURUPA[160]

Tsyurupa:

In any case we must *prepare for*, announce and hold Starving Children's Week.

Perhaps it should be combined with *grain requisitioning* and a *special* mobilisation of the Poor Peasants' Committees.

Perhaps something more could be done for the children? *It should be.*

I enclose this *about meat*: please return it to me as quickly as possible with the Food Commissariat's *brief* comment.[161]

Written in January, not earlier than 14, 1919
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50
Printed from the original

250

TO THE BUSINESS MANAGER OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

18. I. 1919

I direct you to report to me immediately all complaints received by the Managing Department of the Council of People's Commissars against all government offices and persons; complaints in writing must be reported to me

within twenty-four hours, oral ones—within forty-eight hours.

The Managing Department should introduce a special registration of these complaints, the person in charge of the office of the Managing Department being responsible for careful supervision over the fulfilment of my instructions written on these complaints.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the typewritten text signed by Lenin

251

TO L. D. TROTSKY[162]

Comrade Trotsky,

Return this to me, please, after writing your opinion.

I think it is *an absolute scandal* that Vatsetis assigned the three regiments to Narva. *Cancel it!!*

Lenin

21/I.

Written on January 21, 1919
First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

252

TO M. K. VLADIMIROV

22. I. 1919

Comrade Vladimirov,

Your letter received.[163] Many thanks. I shall try to have the draft adopted immediately, even before the meeting of the Council of Defence—by viva voce.

It would be good if you were to give for the press (if only occasionally) *appeals* addressed to the workers.

Greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

253
TO K. I. LANDER

23. I. 1919

Comrade Lander,

I draw your attention to the decision adopted today in the C.P.C.: you are directed to check *before Saturday* (by the Saturday sitting of the C.P.C.) fulfilment by *Prodfaztop** for other bodies of the Food Commissariat) of the decree of the C.P.C. dated January 18, 1919;

—to ascertain the reasons for procrastination;

—to discover the people who are to blame.[164]

Appoint an *intelligent Communist* inspector, be sure to add to him a *worker*, and *make haste*, so that they begin work *Friday morning* (if no worker is available, *start without him* and let him join in later).

I consider the matter important; they should supply information *the same day*. It is necessary to check the business correspondence of Prodfaztop, the office routine in regard to telegrams (whether they are in order, whether they are easy to find, whether the time of reply is checked, and so on).

Please do this as quickly and as strictly as possible.

Lenin

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

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* A department of the People's Commissariat for Food in charge of food supplies for workers of factories, mills and fuel organisations.—*Ed.*

254

TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY

Secret

Trotsky, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council
Kozlov, or present whereabouts

Wilson is proposing a truce and is calling all the governments of Russia to a conference. I am afraid he wants to secure for himself Siberia and part of the south, having no hope otherwise of keeping anything. In the light of the capture of Orenburg, Lugansk and Chertkov this circumstance compels us, in my opinion, to exert every effort to capture Rostov, Chelyabinsk and Omsk within a month. This last is in accordance with our talk. Make a special check of Vatsetis's strategy after the capture of Orenburg and give your opinion. I think you will have to go to Wilson.[165]

Lenin

Written on January 24, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the typewritten copy

255

TELEGRAM TO THE SAMARA GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE[166]

27. I. 1919

Gubernia Executive Committee
Samara

Send immediately to Moscow all the material against the Right Socialist-Revolutionary Alexander Mikhailovich Smirnov, report the reasons for his arrest, verify his statement about wishing to work with Soviet power against Kolchak, meanwhile give Smirnov most favourable treatment while under arrest.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

256
TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

30. I. 1919

Sklyansky

From Z. P. Krzhizhanovskaya via a woman delegate to the Extra-Mural Education Con-

A group of eight airmen in the army in the field, Tsaritsyn Front, Red Air Fleet (23rd Aeronautical Detachment)—headed by chauffeur *Baranov* (previously of the 8th unit of the Special Aeronautical Division)—request that inspectors be sent there, they report that the air detachments exist *only on paper* and that the state of affairs threatens *catastrophe*.[167]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

257
TO L. B. KRASIN

Hand it immediately to Chicherin and *see to it* (or instruct someone else to see to it) that this policy is *vigorously* and *incessantly* pursued.[168]

Written during
January-February 1919

First published in 1960
in the journal
Voprosy Istorii No. 7

Printed from the original

258
TO E. M. SKLYANSKY AND V. N. PODBELSKY

1

Sklyansky:

Forbid this playing at telegrams.[169]

Written on February 10, 1919

2

Sklyansky and Podbelsky:

Can't you issue a circular putting a stop to these stupid telegrams to 100 addresses?[170]

Written on February 11, 1919
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

259
TELEGRAM TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

12. II. 1919

Shlyapnikov
Astrakhan

Your telegram about Baku affairs[171] received. I hope you understand the tremendous importance of the question and will take the most energetic steps to make use of the feeling among the Baku people for swift and decisive action. Guarantee safety for those who come over to us. Telegraph more details.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

260

TO G. I. PETROVSKY[172]

Comrade Petrovsky,

I am told that the author is an honest man and a Party member. Please institute an investigation by *dependable* people. Notify me *whom* you have appointed.

Lenin

13/II.

Written on February 13, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

261

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE EASTERN FRONT

The retreat of the 2nd Army causes me great concern. I have spoken to Vatsetis, who will soon go to Vyatka. Please let me know what measures you are taking and what is the position regarding the hundred companies sent to join you. Second. I hope that you will do the maximum possible for food supply and give good army forces to Tsekomprodarm.* The main thing is to avoid friction with them. Report whether harmonious work has been arranged. Third. How do matters stand with regard to that secret business Gusev sent me a letter about by special messenger?

Lenin

February 14

Written on February 14, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the typewritten copy

* Central Commission for Food Supply of the Red Army.—*Ed.*

262

TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

18. II. 1919

Zinoviev
Smolny
Petrograd

I have just heard something about the district Soviet having evicted Vera Ivanovna Zasulich and other prominent revolutionaries from the Writers' House. Why, this is a disgrace! Can it be true?[173]

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

263

TELEGRAM TO THE YELATMA UYEZD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE[174]

18. II. 1919

Uyezd Executive Committee
Yelatma

Mikhail Mitrofanovich Fedoseyev of Azeyevo complains that you have nationalised his printing-press, refusing on February 6, reference No. 455, both repayment for the printing-press and compensation for removing from work his two girl apprentices and the woman binder Report immediately whether these facts are true, whether it is true that the printing-press is standing idle at Sasovo in a shed. Please discuss whether Fedoseyev can be put to typographical work or allowed to set up an association of workers and conduct controlled management of his former printing-press in full subordination to the Soviet.[175]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

264
TELEGRAM TO P. I. STUČKA AND J. A. BERZIN

19. II. 1919

Stučka, Berzin
Soviet Government of Latvia
Riga

I welcome the decision of the German workers in Riga to publish in serial form the collected works of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. I hope you will give them every assistance and expedite it, and send me a copy.

Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

265
TELEGRAM TO S. I. GUSEV

19. II. 1919

Gusev
Front Headquarters
Arzamas

Reply to coded message received, but not a word in it about food and your measures to eliminate friction and step up transport. Reply.

As for the Bashkirs, you are right to demand either disarming or immediate operations against Kolchak.[176]

Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

266
TO L. B. KAMENEV

21. II. 1919

Comrade Kamenev,

The bearer is the Chairman of the Samara Gubernia Executive Committee.* He has very interesting diagrams and data about food.

---

* This refers to A. P. Galaktionov.—*Ed.*

I advise getting him to *report* for a large number of Moscow workers. There is plenty of grain. That's a fact. *It will do them good to hear it.*

Yours,
Lenin

First published on December 29, 1957, in the newspaper *Volzhskaya Kommuna* No. 304

Printed from the original

267

TO THE TEACHERS OF TVER GUBERNIA[177]

Comrade Ramensky
Representative of Tver Gubernia

Tell the teachers of Tver Gubernia that the kulaks have their grain and that the task of Soviet power is to turn this grain over to the working people.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

22/II. 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the copy written in an unknown hand

268

CERTIFICATE TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DANILOV TEXTILE MILL

24. II. 1919

This is to certify that comrades representing the Danilov Textile Mill visited me on the question of issuing to them a ration in textiles. Since this question has been decided by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee, which, under the Constitution, *stands above* the Council of People's Commissars, neither I, as Chairman of the C.P.C.,

nor the Council of People's Commissars have the right to alter this decision.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

269
TELEGRAMS TO M. K. VLADIMIROV

1

Vladimirov

The Council of Defence has decided that if the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic fails, within two days, to present a reasoned decision in favour of the Povorino-Tsaritsyn line, we shall give priority to the Liski-Likhaya line. The Commissariat for Railways plainly states that there cannot be enough materials for restoring the bridges of both lines. I fully agree with this decision of the Council of Defence, but if you can perform a miracle by contriving to repair the Povorino-Tsaritsyn line in addition to the Liski-Likhaya line, you will indeed be a miracle worker.

Lenin

2

I personally agree to leave you if you undertake to restore both lines, as you write. I shall try today to get in touch with Tsyurupa and Sverdlov, and if we arrive at a different decision I shall telegraph you immediately. Probably Nevsky did not know what materials you can get from the south. I shall pass on to him both your memos.

Lenin

Written on February 26, 1919
Sent to Voronezh

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

The first telegram is printed from the original, the second from the text of the telegraph form

270

TELEGRAM TO S. Y. TSEKHANOVSKY[178]

26. II. 1919

Tsekhanovsky, Chairman of the Executive Committee
Rudnya
Copy to Gubernia Executive Committee, Mogilev

I can receive you, if not personally, then through my secretary. In my opinion the plan of the Communists of Mikulino Volost is not bad, but it is desirable to have at least a brief written opinion from Orsha and Mogilev as to the reasons for their negative attitude.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

271

TO MARIA KOSTELOVSKAYA[179]

I agree, but if the *Military Food Bureau* proves guilty of delaying, *even by one hour*, the work of mobilising workers both for responsible posts and for the **food army**, then all: the members of the Military Food Bureau should be **kicked out**.

Written on February 27, 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

272

TO A. I. SVIDERSKY

I think all of you were wasting time "theorising". Rush Schlichter, hurry him out *to the spot*. Things will be clearer *on the spot*.[180]

Written between February and early March 1919

First published in 1925 in the book: A. G. Schlichter, *Ilyich, kakim ya yego znal* (Ilyich as I Knew Him). Kharkov

Printed from the original

273

TO LYDIA FOTIEVA[181]

1

Decrees cannot be *bypassed*: the mere proposal invites prosecution.

An exception, though, can be put *through the Central Executive Committee*, and I advise doing this.

2

One must know the law: I do not remember *through whom exceptions go*.

Written on March 4, 1919
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV* — Printed from the original

274

TO THE C.C. OF THE R.C.P.(B.)

On the basis of § 3 a Note to be sent to the Polish Government with assurances that we fully agree to, and indeed desire, a decision by the vote of the working people; we desire agreement on this basis, and agree to concessions on details, and so on. This to be given as a directive from the C.C.[182]

Lenin

Written between March 4 and 24, 1919
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51 — Printed from the original

275

TELEGRAM TO P. P. MYSHKIN

8. III. 1919

Myshkin, Chairman of the Gubernia Extraordinary Commission
Tsaritsyn

You cannot arrest people for disfiguring a portrait. Free

Valentina Pershikova at once, and if she is a counter-revolutionary, keep an eye on her.[183]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

276

TO LYDIA FOTIEVA[184]

I'm sorry if Khryashchova lives a long way off and has to come on foot.

Tell her tactfully when you get a chance that on days when there are no questions of statistics to be discussed she can leave earlier or not come at all.

Written on March 8, 1919

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

277

TELEGRAM TO A. L. KOLEGAYEV

10. III. 1919

Kolegayev, Chief of Supply, Southern Front
Kozlov or present whereabouts

How many food trains have been dispatched to Moscow and how many can you dispatch next month? Has everything been done in fulfilment of the Central Committee's directive on measures to collect foodstuffs in Don Region? Exactly how much has been collected and delivered, how is the collecting going? Have you enough workers from the centre for food work? Please reply by telegraph.[185]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

278
TO L. B. KAMENEV[186]

12. III. 1919

Comrade Kamenev,

The bearers are comrades from Sarapul Uyezd, Vyatka Gubernia.

They have brought us and Petrograd 40,000 poods of grain each. This is such a remarkable feat that it fully deserves quite special congratulations. The comrades, by the way, ask to be put in touch with the trade unions. Please arrange as soon as possible for them to make a report in the Soviet. A paragraph about it should also be given to the press. Please phone me when you get this note, and then send the bearers to Schmidt and Tomsky.

Greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

279
TO LYDIA FOTIEVA[187]

Lyd. Al.,

Reply that I have passed his address for decrees on to the Bureau of the Central Committee (and send it there), and that he can write to me directly to the Kremlin, Moscow.

Written in March, after 17, 1919

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

280
TO G. I. PETROVSKY

Comrade Petrovsky,

Please send this or a similar telegram, or give orders for an inspection through the Gubernia Executive Committee.[188]

Lenin

Written in March, not later than 22, 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

281
TO TELEGRAM TO V. N. KAYUROV[189]

Secret
27. III. 1919

Kayurov
5th Army

Your unaccountably optimistic telegram received; I very much fear that such optimism, which has already done much harm in the east, will do more harm now. Report whether you gave your opinion to Trotsky and what measures you have taken to improve political work, put heart into the reinforcements and inspire them with political consciousness.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1924 in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 3 (26)

Printed from the original

282
TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS

2. IV. 1919

Comrade *People's Commissar* for Internal Affairs

Representatives of Putivl Uyezd, Kursk Gubernia, are complaining about the elections. *Re-elections to the Soviets* are required in accordance with the law. Please reply to me what you have done—made an inspection, a check-up, issued an order, of what kind? etc.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

283

TELEGRAM TO G. N. KAMINSKY*

Kaminsky
Tula

I shall at once inform Krasin, and regarding finance—Krestinsky.[190] Take rigorous measures in general; regarding Red Army men's rations I cannot decide just now, I am told they received $1\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. The causes of lowered productivity must be investigated. Report to us more frequently, both you and Orlov.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on April 4, 1919

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the text of the telegraph form

284

TELEGRAM TO THE COMMANDER OF THE 10th ARMY

4. IV. 1919

10th Army Commander
Tsaritsyn
Copy to Divisional Commander Dumenko
Velikoknyazheskaya

Convey my greetings to the hero of the 10th Army, Comrade Dumenko, and his valiant cavalry, who have covered themselves with glory in liberating Velikoknyazheskaya from the fetters of the counter-revolution. I am confident that the crushing of the Krasnov and Denikin counter-revolutionaries will be carried through to the end.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

* Transmitted by direct line.—*Ed.*

285

RADIO-TELEGRAM TO BELA KUN

Bela Kun
Budapest

I am sending you a copy of our radio-telegram of today to Pichon on the question of the exchange with France.[191]

Our Red Cross Commission headed by Manuilsky left for France to organise repatriation of our men, but has been held up. We promised to repatriate the French servicemen still with us if repatriation of our men from France is organised and proceeds at full speed. The French Government prevented Manuilsky's Commission from organising this work. Of the 35,000 Russian soldiers in France, Africa and Salonica, France wants to repatriate 900 men now and makes empty promises of repatriating our soldiers later on as opportunity offers, but in exchange for this, France demands that we should immediately let all the Frenchmen go home.

France wants to send Manuilsky's mission back together with the 900 Russian soldiers, although nothing has been done to organise further repatriation. France wants to get everything and give almost nothing and get rid of Manuilsky.

Yet we are aware that our soldiers who remain in France and refuse to join the army are subjected to the most monstrous persecution and that Manuilsky has been forbidden to establish any sort of contact with them.

We refuse, on such conditions, to let the Frenchmen go home. This is the substance of my radio-telegram, a copy of which is being sent to you. The French will shout blue murder, and tell the Americans every sort of disgusting lie. Please hand a copy of our Note to the American representative for his government.

Lenin

Written on April 4, 1919
First published in 1958 in *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. II

Printed from the typewritten copy
Translated from the German

286

TO D. I. KURSKY

It is time we endorsed *general* standing orders for the C.P.C.

1. For those making reports—*10* minutes
2. For speakers, the first time *5* minutes, the second time *3* minutes.
3. To speak not more than twice.
4. On a point of order, 1 for and 1 against, each for one minute.
5. Exceptions by *special* rulings of the C.P.C.[192]

Written in April,
not later than 5, 1919

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

287

TO THE SARATOV SOVIET BODIES (GUBERNIA FOOD COMMITTEE, GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, CITY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, ETC.)

5. IV. 1919

I fully subscribe to the request of the People's Commissariat for Food that every assistance be given the Saratov *Council for the Protection of the Starving Children of the Red Capitals*. For my part, I earnestly request that every effort be made to assist this Council for the Protection of Children.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

288

REPLY TO PEASANTS OF SKOPIN UYEZD[193]

To impose the extraordinary tax on peasants with below average income is *illegal*. Measures have been taken to lighten the taxation of *middle* peasants. In a few days there will be a decree.[194] Regarding the remaining questions, I shall make immediate inquiries of the People's Commissars and a reply will be sent to you.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

5/IV—1919

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the typewritten copy

289

TO S. P. SEREDA AND A. D. TSYURUPA[195]

Sereda *and* **Tsyurupa**

Peasant Filipp Ilyich Bodrov (living in Forest School, Sokolniki, Moscow)—formerly a Petrograd worker, over 20 years in the Party—who has a farm in Venev Uyezd, Tula Gubernia (about 20 members of the family living together, undivided, a "*middle peasant*"), assures mc that grain can be *carted* to Moscow over a distance of up to 200 versts (his village is 180 versts from Moscow). We have grain, he says, we also have surpluses.

We have missed the winter period, he says, but *after the sowing* (which ends at about St. Nicholas's Day*) there will be *about a month*'s free time (before dung carting, about a week before St. Peter's Day**). This, he says, should be utilised.

Information should be collected *urgently*, *at once*, and if there is *even a slight chance*, this measure should be carried out, for there will be no consignments from the east.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

7. IV. 1919

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

* May 9.—*Ed.*
** June 29.—*Ed.*

290

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO V. L. PANYUSHKIN[196]

Comrade Panyushkin

I direct you to begin entraining the brigade immediately, without loss of time, and to dispatch it urgently to its destination. I order you to go to the front with the brigade. Report fulfilment.

Lenin

Written on April 7, 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the typewritten copy

291

RADIO-TELEGRAMS TO BELA KUN[197]

1

April 7, 1.45 p.m.

Lenin asks you to greet the Bavarian Soviet Republic. He requests to be informed urgently and in as great detail as possible. In particular about everything concerned with land socialisation in Bavaria.

Lenin

2

April 8, 2.15 a.m.

Please give us details about the revolution that has taken place in Bavaria. Apart from the brief radio-telegram of the Bavarian Soviet Government we have no information. Please let us know how events are developing there and whether the new order holds full sway. Please give us the information I asked for yesterday about your programme on the national question. What is the position in Bavaria as regards the agrarian programme of the Soviet Government?*

Lenin

Münchner Neueste Nachrichten No. 162, April 9, 1919

First published in Russian in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the newspaper text Translated from the German

* This refers to the Bavarian Soviet Government.—*Ed.*

292

TELEGRAM TO THE KNYAGININ UYEZD LAND DEPARTMENT

Uyezd Land Department
Knyaginin
Copy to Knyaginin Second Zapyansk Society
Ichalki

Compulsory measures of any kind to make the peasants pass over to the communal working of the fields are impermissible. Non-observance of this will be punished with all the severity of revolutionary law.[198]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars*

Written on April 8, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the typewritten text signed by Lenin

293

TELEGRAM TO N. N. KUZMIN[199]

8. IV. 1919

Kuzmin, Military Commissar of the 6th Army
Vologda or Plesetskaya
or present whereabouts

Your telegrams give me the impression that the British are deceiving us. Therefore, while by no means anticipating the orders your military superior may give you, I, for my part, ask that security and vigilance be strengthened to the utmost, and every effort be made also to step up our offensive.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

* The telegram was signed also by S. P. Sereda, People's Commissar for Agriculture.—*Ed.*

294

TELEGRAM TO THE KAZAN GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

9. IV. 1919

Gubernia Executive Committee
Kazan
Copy to the Military Revolutionary Committee

Citizens Chernyshov, Sorokin, Semyonov and Herman complain from Yadrin that they have been kept in prison for 5 months without being interrogated. Investigate complaint without delay and give me an explanation at once.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

295

TELEGRAM TO S. K. MININ[200]

Thanks for the news. Please consider a number of systematic measures for a stable improvement of the situation in Tula.

Lenin

Written on April 11, 1919
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

296

TELEGRAM TO THE OREL GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE[201]

12. IV. 1919

Gubernia Executive Committee
Orel
Copy to Uyezd Executive Committee
Maloarkhangelsk

Writer Ivan Volny has been arrested. His friend Gorky earnestly requests the greatest caution and impartiality in

the investigation. Can he be set free under strict surveillance? Wire.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

297
TELEGRAM TO MAXIM GORKY

14. IV. 1919

Gorky
Smolny
Petrograd

Chuzhinov, Chairman of the Orel Investigating Commission, wires me that Ivan Volny has been temporarily released pending investigation of the case.

Lenin

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

298
TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY[202]

Chairman, Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine
Kiev
Copy to the People's Commissar for Military Affairs of the Ukraine

In view of the reorganisation of the health resort system in the Republic and in the interests of providing treatment and rest at health resorts for disabled servicemen and workers, exhausted Red Army men and weakened workers from the north, urgent measures must be taken to protect the southern health resorts won back by the Red Army.

Please give immediate orders to chiefs of army units operating in the south of Russia and on the Taurida Peninsula to take the strictest steps to prevent destruction or looting of medical appliances, buildings, inventory, plantations, materials and supplies at the health resorts of southern Russia and the Crimean Peninsula, Odessa, Golaya Pristan, Berdyansk, Moinaki, Saki, Evpatoria, Sevastopol, Balaklava, Yalta, Alupka, Gurzuf, Alushta, Feodosia, Kerch, and others.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars*

Written on April 15, 1919
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the typewritten text signed by Lenin

299
TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

18. IV. 1919

Zinoviev
Smolny
Petrograd

I have received your telegram about the Petrograd workers' enthusiastic response to the mobilisation.[203] Today I had a detailed report from the Commander-in-Chief, and I see clearly that unfaltering exertions and extreme speed are essential. Take advantage of Kalinin's presence to step up and accelerate dispatch of troops from Petrograd. If you can, send more also with Kalinin.

Lenin

First published on February 23, 1938, in *Pravda* No. 53

Printed from the original

* The telegram was signed also by N. A. Semashko, People's Commissar for Health.—*Ed.*

300

TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY

In code

Rakovsky
Kiev

In regard to the S.R.s, I advise giving no more than three and keeping these three pretty thoroughly under surveillance of the Bolsheviks, and if they do not agree—so much the worse for them, we only stand to gain.[204] Regarding military tasks, I remind you again of two of the most important: a break-through at Bukovina and the capture of Rostov. All efforts must be devoted to these two tasks—confirm this to Podvoisky and Antonov. As to Dybenko's plans, I warn you against any adventure—I fear it will end in failure and he will be cut off.[205] Would it not be wiser to have his forces replace Makhno and strike at Taganrog and Rostov? I advise thinking it over thrice; decide yourself, of course.

Lenin

Written on April 18, 1919
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

301

TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY[206]

Comrade Dzerzhinsky,

Will you please institute a *very strict* investigation.

Lenin

18/IV.

Written on April 18, 1919
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50
Printed from the original

302

TO THE TAMBOV GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

20. IV. 1919

Gubernia Executive Committee
Tambov

I enclose a telegram from Tambov.[207] Please arrange another general meeting of these 252 (it is not clear whether they are *all* the members of the co-operative or only some of them, and if so, out of what total number) and explain the following to them:

"The Council of People's Commissars has passed a decree for the organisation of consumers' communes in the interests of correct distribution of products. It is unjust that the distribution of products essential for the *whole* population should be handled only by *part* of the population, as was the case under capitalism. In all countries the co-operatives under capitalism embrace mainly the upper sections of workers and peasants. It is essential that now not only the upper sections, but *all* working people, every one of them, should take part in the distribution of products.

"There is hardly a single one of the great founders of the world co-operative movement who has not pointed to the conversion of this movement into socialism. Now indeed this time has come, and all the best elements in the co-operatives are in sympathy with the *development* of the co-operative movement as envisaged in the decree on the conversion of the co-operatives into consumers' communes *embracing all the working people without exception.*

"The members of the consumers' communes *retain* the right of fully independent control, as also the right to conduct affairs independently. This is why I am asking the meeting to revise its decision, to recognise the binding nature of the decree of the Council of People's Commissars and not to make the workers' and peasants' government have recourse to undesirable measures of compulsion.

"*V. Ulyanov* (*Lenin*)
"Chairman, C.P.C."

Read out at the meeting the part in quotation marks, and publish it in the local newspaper. Amplify (*tactfully, without using hard words*) what I have said. Wire fulfilment.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1958
in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 1

Printed from the original

303

TELEGRAM TO I. I. VATSETIS AND S. I. ARALOV[208]

In code

Commander-in-Chief Vatsetis and
Aralov, member of the R.M.C.R.
Serpukhov

The advance into part of Galicia and Bukovina is essential for contact with Soviet Hungary. This task must be achieved more quickly and surely, but beyond this task no occupation of Galicia and Bukovina is needed, for the Ukrainian army must on no account be distracted from its two main objectives: the first, the most important and most urgent, is to help the Donets Basin. This assistance must be given quickly and on a large scale. The second objective is to establish a secure link by rail with Soviet Hungary. Inform us of your directives to Antonov and measures for checking their fulfilment.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on April 21 or 22, 1919

First published in part
on April 21, 1957,
in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* No. 48

Published in full in Ukrainian
in 1958 in the book: *Borotba trudyashchikh Bukovini za sotsialne i natsionolne vizvolennya i vozz'yednannya z Ukrainskoyu R.S.R. 1917-1941*, Chernivtsi

Published in full in Russian in 1961
in the book: *Iz istorii grazhdanskoi voiny v SSSR*, Vol. 2

Printed from the original

304

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY[209]

Comrade Sklyansky,

This, by the way, is pertinent to what was decided yesterday.

It is necessary **urgently**, *at once*:

1) to draw up the *text* of a directive from the C.C. to all "nationals" on army *unity* (integration)*;

2) to give it *also* to the press for a series of articles;

3) re *universal military training* (100% to be taken and not 75%[210]), prepare *immediately*, today, a draft decree;

4) calculate: 24,000 command personnel. At the ratio of 1 to 10 that means an army of *240,000*.

Verify and take as the norm at once for the Central Board of Supply of both Russia and the Ukraine.

Written on April 24, 1919

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

305

TELEGRAM TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV

In code

Sokolnikov

It is necessary at all costs to put down the revolt quickly, once and for all. Beloborodov has been sent from the Central Committee. I fear you are making a mistake in not applying severe measures, but if you are absolutely convinced that there are not enough forces for dealing with it summarily, then wire immediately and in detail. What about promising an amnesty and at that price completely disarming them? Reply at once. We are sending trainees of two more commanders' courses.

Lenin

Written on April 24, 1919

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

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* "Draft C.C. Directives on Army Unity". See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 404-05.—*Ed.*

306

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

You must: 1) send telegrams *today* to the Revolutionary Military Council of the *Eastern Front and to the army* about urgent measures for aiding Chistopol;
2) speak today *yourself* by direct line with the Eastern Front.

Lenin

Written on April 26, 1919
First published on September 23 1925, in *Pravda* No. 217 — Printed from the original

307

TELEGRAM TO S. I. GUSEV

26. IV. 1919

Gusev

Urgent measures must be taken to help Chistopol. Have you given this sufficient thought? Have you exhausted all possibilities? Wire.

Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV* — Printed from the original

308

TELEGRAM TO K. A. MEKHONOSHIN

In code

Mekhonoshin
Astrakhan

From the report of 23/4 it is evident that the *Ardahan* and *Kars* passed from Baku to Guriev with impunity. So the Astrakhan people boastfully promise great victories in the future, but at the same time they let the enemy through

to Guriev. This is outrageous and even makes one suspect either treachery or malicious sabotage. We demand from you strictest control, personal checking, careful supervision and utmost vigilance.

Lenin

Written on April 26, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

309

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV[211]

Comrade Zinoviev,

Read this yourself and show it to Comrade Badayev. He must be *strictly* reproved: one more instance of non-fulfilment of directives from the centre—and we shall *prosecute* him. This is no joke.

Get him to sign that he has read this.

Lenin

26/IV.

P.S. *Return* the enclosed material and this letter.

Written on April 26, 1919
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50
Printed from the original

310

PROTECTION CERTIFICATE FOR V. I. TANEYEV[212]

April 26, 1919

Citizen Vladimir Ivanovich *Taneyev*

Protection Certificate

On the basis of a decision of the Council of People's Commissars dated 25/III. 1919 this Protection Certificate is issued to Citizen Vladimir Ivanovich *Taneyev*, 78 years

of age, who for many years carried on scientific work and, as testified by Karl Marx, showed himself to be a "devoted friend of the people's emancipation".[213]

Citizen Vladimir Ivanovich Taneyev is given the right to visit the library of the Council of People's Commissars, and all other state libraries are directed to give him every assistance in his scientific work and researches. All Soviet authorities are instructed to afford Citizen Vladimir Ivanovich Taneyev assistance in the matter of his own security and that of his family, home and property. In the event of his travelling through the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic all railway and steamship authorities are instructed to afford Citizen Vladimir Ivanovich Taneyev and his family every possible assistance in obtaining train tickets and berths.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from
the typewritten text
signed by Lenin

311

TELEGRAM TO L. B. KAMENEV

Kamenev
Kamenev's train
Ekaterinoslav

The directive about the Donets Basin was long ago repeated. Have a factual check carried out as to what exactly arrived, how much, when and where, or where it is along the line. Joffe is needed not in the Crimea, but in the government of the Ukraine in the post which Rakovsky will select for work against the tendency towards separatism. As for the Crimea, we shall find someone else, but not, of course, Dybenko.

Lenin

Written on April 28, 1919

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the decoded
text of the telegraph form

312

LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION FOR V. S. MITSKEVICH

29. IV. 1919

I hereby recommend Comrade Valentin Sergeyevich Mitskevich both as a Communist and as an indubitably conscientious worker. I would add that, according to the testimony of absolutely trustworthy comrades who have observed his work, Comrade Mitskevich has the capabilities of an organiser.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

313

TO THE PETROGRAD ORGANISATIONS

I have had a detailed report from Vatsetis and the Chief of Staff. *The conclusion is a sad one*. Strenuous efforts are needed. The present enthusiasm must *not be allowed to subside*, but must be sustained for at least 2 months and *still further intensified*. Otherwise we shall not finish the war, and finished it must be *at all costs*, as signs of weariness among the masses (100,000 deserters) are becoming more frequent.

I have discussed the following measures with Trotsky:

1) Some 3,000 Petrograd workers, *unfit* for war and unarmed, to be sent to the Don. Purpose—to set things going, to weaken the Cossacks, demoralise them *from within*, *settle among them*, set up groups in the villages, etc.

2) All means and resources to be used more and more to get ready a flotilla for the Volga. Especially *repairs*.

3) Ditto as regards artillery (without taking away from the Karelian line). It is necessary *again* and *again* to check with the army men whether it is possible to help the east with artillery.

4) Rifles to be collected, *especially broken ones* (in Tula 800 a day can be repaired; *work is lacking*).

5) Mobilisation of Petrograd workers to be continued both for the Ukraine and for the Don.

I received a telegram today from Zinoviev on the stoppage of several works, big ones, in Petrograd, owing to oil shortage. I could not get Krasin on the phone. When I do I shall tell him. But I don't think any oil is or will be available. I advise moving *every one* of these workers to the Ukraine, to the Don, to the east, for 3 months. It is stupid to starve, to perish in Petrograd, when it is possible to win grain and coal.

6) Mobilisation of Party functionaries to be continued, too, especially for places close to the front line.

It is necessary again and again "to rob Petrograd", that is, to take people from it, otherwise neither Petrograd nor Russia can be saved.

Various branches of administration and of cultural and educational work in Petrograd can and should be *weakened tenfold* for 3 months.

We shall then save both Russia and Petrograd.

We have no other workers to equal the Petrograders.

Greetings,
Lenin

Written in the second half of April 1919

First published in 1932 in the journal *Krasnaya Letopis* No. 5-6 (50-51)

Printed from the typewritten copy

314

TO L. B. KAMENEV[214]

It will not be too late to make rotten concessions in June. Tsyurupa asserts that the Central Food Purchasing Commission procured several *millions* (non-rationed), but "free procurement" killed it and yielded *much less*.

Let us check these figures—*en masse*.

1) How much (in actual fact) did the Central Food Purchasing Commission procure (and transport) in 2 or 3 months?

2) How much did the "free" carriers *transport* in *February+March*?

Written in April 1919

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

315

TO MARIA KOSTELOVSKAYA[215]

It is to be understood for what it is—a decision of the C.C. *This is wartime*. All *must be where things are most difficult*.

Written in April 1919
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI* — Printed from the original

316

TO J. E. RUDZUTAK[216]

Rudzutak: I received this on 2.V!!!!! Give them a *severe* telling-off: a telegram dated 27.IV should have reached me *not later* than 28.IV. (Send me a signed statement from the guilty parties that they have been reprimanded and warned.)

Lenin

2/V.

Written on May 2, 1919
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV* — Printed from the original

317

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY[217]

Sklyansky: this is **very** important; it is necessary to *leave* them part of the 33rd Division and *immediately* get Vatsetis to send an *absolutely precise* telegram to this effect to Astrakhan.

Lenin

2/V.

Written on May 2, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV* — Printed from the original

318

TO A. Y. BADAYEV[218]

Comrade Badayev,

Don't be capricious, you are not a school miss. You were asked not whether you consider "all your actions" "*absolutely* (!!) correct" (that is ludicrous!!), but whether you have carried out *all* orders from the centre. But you are silent about this! Go on working—*we do not accept your resignation*. In future carry out all orders from the centre and do not talk unseemly nonsense about "intrigues".

Greetings,
Lenin

4/V.

Written on May 4, 1919

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

319

TELEGRAM
TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO AND N. I. PODVOISKY

Antonov and Podvoisky
Kiev
Copy to Rakovsky

The Central Committee of the Party imposes a stern reprimand on Antonov and Podvoisky for having done absolutely nothing serious to liberate the Donets Basin, despite their promises and repeated insistent demands. The C.C. orders that the most strenuous efforts be made and warns that otherwise it will bring them before a Party court.

On behalf of the Central Committee,
*Lenin**

Sent 5/V. 2.37 hours

Written on May 5, 1919

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

* Followed by the signatures of Stalin and Krestinsky in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

320
TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND M. M. LITVINOV[219]

Dear Comrades,

I am sending you my comments. In the absence of essential differences of opinion, decide for yourselves. My advice is: use it *for propaganda*, for clearly it can serve *no other* useful purpose. Be extremely polite to Nansen, *extremely insolent* to Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau. This is very useful, the *only* way to speak to them, the right tone.

Lenin

6/V.

I think both replies are quite correct, in proposing a meeting and thanking Nansen. But it seems to me that the *propaganda* side should be *more fully* developed, taking advantage of the fact that the Entente, while easily concealing from everyone all other documents of ours,* will be *unable*, by way of exception, to conceal *precisely this reply*.

I would therefore advise using for propaganda and elaborating *in greater detail* the separation of (α) the *humanitarian* and (β) the *political* aspect.

(α) You mention the humanitarian (it seems, *only* the humanitarian?) nature of the proposal? For this all thanks and compliments to Nansen *personally*. If it's humanitarian aims, then do not *bring* politics *into it*, dear sir, but *just start shipping* (stress this). Just start shipping! We are even ready to *pay* through the nose for it and willingly admit *you* for control and give *you* every guarantee. Dilate on this, rub it in, make it clear. *Appoint a place and time for the talks!*

But if a *truce*, then this is *politics*! You are an educated man, Mr. Nansen, you know perfectly well that *every* war and *every* truce is *politics*. This means **you** have linked the "humanitarian" with the "political". *You* have lumped them together! Explain to him, as you would to a 16-year-old lass, why a truce is *politics*.

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* The reference is to the numerous official peace proposals addressed to the Entente powers (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 191-92).—*Ed.*

(β) Is it a good thing—to mix the "humanitarian" with "politics"? No, it is a bad thing, because it is hypocrisy, for which *you* are not to blame, and it is *not you* we are blaming. For one must talk *frankly* about politics without taking cover behind "humanitarianism".

And once *you* have started talking politics, then, by your leave, we are *obliged* to answer you to the point.

(β[1]) If the truce is *for peace*, then you are perfectly aware that we are *for* it. We agreed (*even!*) to the Princes Islands. [We confirmed this to Bullitt who, unfortunately, proved, like the whole of *American policy*, to be a *captive* of Clemenceau and Lloyd George, for what Bullitt promised us, assuring us that America would make Clemenceau and Lloyd George come to heel, remained *unfulfilled* (it would be useful to "taunt" Wilson about it!).[220]]*

It was *not* we who torpedoed the Princes Islands, but the *monarchists* and *anti-Jew pogromists*, the restorers of *the landowners' estates*. Explain, develop, *prove* these three points, that Denikin and Kolchak 1) are monarchists; 2) pogromist thugs; 3) are restoring the estates of the landowners and introducing redemption payments for the peasants.

We agreed to a truce *for negotiations* about peace, of course, with those who are *really* to blame for the war, i.e., with Great Britain, France, America, and not with pawns. Explain in detail that it is *they* who are waging war, with *their* ships, their *guns*, their cartridges, *their* officers. Reveal **in detail** the *outrageously false* "renunciation of intervention" in the face of *their support* (and egging on) of the Estonians, Finns, Poles.

(β[2]) Further, if the truce is *not for peace*, but for a political game—*we don't want it*. Peace is not a joking matter. *No one* will succeed in fooling us. Develop this point, too.

Wind up with a *résumé*: *if* it is politics, then we proposed a *truce* for peace, we agreed, we did not torpedo the Princes Islands, we are always ready for talks with those *who are really to blame* for the war.

* If all are against, throw it out (probably this refers to the text which Lenin put in square brackets.—*Ed.*). But in my opinion, it is extremely useful *in practice* to set Wilson at variance with them by declaring that Wilson is a *pawn* in the hands of Clemenceau and Lloyd George, in submitting to these *two*, to this "majority"!!

PRELIMINARY TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

If it is *not* politics, *but* humanitarianism, we say thank-you, we accept, we invite you to come, to control, and will go anywhere you like (time, place) *and will pay* even *three times the price* in timber, ore, ships.

Indeed, we must not miss the opportunity of replying to Nansen in a way that would make *good* propaganda.[221]

Written on May 6, 1919
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

321

TELEGRAM TO V. I. MEZHLAUK

Mezhlauk, Deputy People's Commissar for Military Affairs
Kharkov
Copy to Artyom

I have received from Lutovinov yet another confirmation that you are playing at being independent and at local republics, by refusing to send immediately to the Donets Basin all military forces and all the mobilised workers of Kharkov, and by giving as an excuse idiotic prohibitions from Podvoisky. I declare that you will be brought before a Party court and expelled from the Party if you do not give up this game and do not at once send all military forces of Kharkov and all mobilised workers to the relief of the Donets Basin. Reply in code without delay regarding fulfilment, how many you are sending, and when. You will be held responsible for delay.

Lenin

May 7, 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the typewritten copy

322

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR SOCIAL SECURITY

10. V. 1919

Please give every assistance and aid to the bearers, Finnish comrades Torniainen, Haapalainen and Wilmi, in

fixing up 500 men disabled in the war against the Whites.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from
the typewritten text
signed by Lenin

323

TELEGRAM TO M. V. FRUNZE

Frunze, Commander, Southern Group of the Eastern Front*

Are you aware of the grave position of Orenburg?[222] Today, through railwaymen who had spoken by direct line, I was told of the desperate request of the Orenburgers to be sent 2 regiments of infantry and 2 of cavalry, or at least 1,000 infantrymen and a few squadrons to begin with. Let me know at once what has been done and what your plans are. You will not, of course, regard my telegram as violating army orders.

Lenin

May 12, 1919

First published in part on
July 24, 1928, in *Pravda* No. 170
Published in full in 1934 in
Proletarskaya Revolutsia No. 3

Printed from
the typewritten copy

324

TELEGRAM TO M. I. KALININ

Kalinin, Chairman of the All-Russia C.E.C.
Simbirsk *or present whereabouts*

Food workers at Atyashevo station are complaining that on your orders, bag-traders' potatoes are being dispatched, prices have shot up, procurements have stopped. We consider it absolutely necessary to refrain from giving

* The words "of the Eastern Front" are in Lenin's handwriting. —*Ed.*

concrete technical directives and orders on food matters which cancel the decrees and violate the general food policy. In general, do not impair departmental and party inter-relations, devote main attention to the peasants.

On behalf of the Political Bureau of the C.C.,
*Lenin**

Written on May 13, 1919
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the text in Tsyurupa's handwriting, added to and signed by Lenin

325
TELEGRAM TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV

In code

Sokolnikov
Boguchar

We have received from Beloborodov the following telegrams, the first: "The front at Donets has been broken through", etc., and the second: "It is necessary to expel from the Red Army ranks", etc. In addition there is a report on demoralisation in our units and complete lack of energy on the part of the local command. Evidently the liquidation of the revolt is being more and more delayed, yet the threat of the insurgents joining forces with Denikin's troops is growing. Are you keeping a sufficiently attentive eye on the operations? Should not units be added from the reserves of the Southern Front? How many of the 214 Communists Smilga sent to the south in April and May have been used for this purpose? What new effective measures have been taken to put an end to the revolt and when can one expect it to be put down? Are the peasants south of

* The words "Simbirsk *or present whereabouts*" in the address, and the text of the telegram from the words "In general", are in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

the revolt being mobilised?* The case of the General Staff member ...** must be investigated. We await a reply.

Lenin
Sklyansky

Written on May 14, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the text in Sklyansky's handwriting

326
TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY

15. V. 1919

Trotsky

I am very glad about the energetic measures for suppressing the revolt and particularly about the assignment of the 33rd Division for this purpose. In my opinion, the utmost should be done to make use of the feeling against Grigoriev for maximum and speediest pressure on the Donets Basin. Unless we capture Rostov soon we shall not be able to bear the remaining burdens.

Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

327
TELEGRAM TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

15. V. 1919

Gubernia Executive Committee
Kostroma
for Lunacharsky

I have asked the Commissariat for Food to report about relief measures.[223] I fear that the revolt in the Ukraine

* From the words "and when" the text is written in an unknown hand.—*Ed.*
** The name is illegible.—*Ed.*

will hinder the administration of relief, as the situation is deteriorating.[224] Push ahead vigorously with mass migration to the Don.[225] Get in touch with Sereda.

Lenin

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

328

TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

15. V. 1919

Comrades Serebryakov, Stalin and the other members of the Presidium of the C.E.C.

Tsyurupa receives 2,000 rubles, family of 7, dinners at 12 rubles each (and supper), 84 per day × 30 = 2,520 rubles.

They are underfed! They take *4 dinners*, it is not enough. The children are adolescents, they need *more* than an adult.

Please increase his salary to 4,000 rubles and give, in addition, a grant of 5,000 rubles in a lump sum to the family, which arrived from Ufa *without clothing*.

Please reply.

Lenin

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

329

TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV

20. V. 1919

Comrade Sokolnikov

I take this opportunity to discuss the revolt at greater length. Your telegram of the 17th (No. 189) distresses me very much: You speak only of "demoralisation" of "expeditionary troops" and *not a word* about the division (the 34th, I believe), which was landed to suppress the revolt! Not a word!

After the offensive against Petrograd, suppression of the revolt, the most ruthless and immediate suppression *coûte que coûte*, is an absolute necessity. Please do not be diverted from this and send information in code twice weekly—I shall insist on the dispatch to you of what is required, just as I insisted today on an additional telegram about (*what has already been ordered three times*) the dispatch to you of Communists from Voronezh and Tambov gubernias.

Have done with the revolt quickly at all costs!

Yours,
Lenin

We shall push on also with all our might with migration to the Don from non-agricultural places to get the farmsteads occupied, the rear fortified correspondingly, and so on.

We shall send trainees as well: I made arrangements with Sklyansky yesterday.

First published in 1934 in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 3

Printed from the original

330

TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY

20/V.

Trotsky

In connection with the coded telegram from the three commanders of the Eastern Front, I propose that Kamenev be appointed commander of the front, that Kostyaev be replaced, and Lashevich appointed instead of Aralov.[226] Reply about the plenum. I'm afraid Stalin and Zinoviev will not be able to attend on the 25th, and to tear you away too is harmful. Therefore I propose that the plenum be postponed and that we come to an agreement by telegram.

Lenin

Written on May 20, 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

331

TELEGRAM TO V. I. MEZHLAUK

20. V. 1919

Mezhlauk, Deputy People's Commissar for Military Affairs
Kharkov

Report regularly twice weekly in code what you are doing to liberate the Donets Basin. I fear your energy is already flagging, and yet it is absolutely essential that Kharkov strain every effort in order quickly and resolutely to finish the job.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published on January 20, 1929, in *Krasnaya Zvezda* No. 17

Printed from the original

332

TELEGRAM TO THE NOVGOROD GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Gubernia Executive Committee
Novgorod
Copy to the Extraordinary Commission
Copy to the Gubernia Commissar for Food

Apparently, Bulatov has been arrested for complaining to me. I warn you that I shall have the chairmen of the Gubernia Executive Committee and Extraordinary Commission, and the members of the Executive Committee arrested for this and will insist on their being shot. Why did you not reply at once to my inquiry?[227]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on May 20, 1919
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

333

TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY

In code
22. V. 1919

Trotsky

I have just learned of the break-through of our front at Riga. Riga is evidently lost.[228] Most likely treachery of the Lettish bourgeois officers. Possibly also preparations for a general, determined offensive along the whole Western Front. All this obliges us to increase tenfold the attack on the Donets Basin and at all costs to put down the revolt on the Don immediately. Sklyansky and I will send another thousand trainees there over and above the thousand sent yesterday.* I advise you to devote yourself wholly to liquidating the revolt.

Lenin

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

334

TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY

In code

Rakovsky
Kiev

The C.C. of the R.C.P. directs that the C.C. of the C.P. of the Ukraine should not put forward for discussion by the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars such important financial decisions as the issue of new currency notes or the exchange of Ukrainian rubles without a preliminary inquiry of the C.C., R.C.P., since such measures can be taken only on an all-Russia scale.

* The words "over and above the thousand sent yesterday" are in Sklyansky's handwriting.—*Ed.*

Reply in detail whether you consider it possible to put through this directive.*

Lenin, *Krestinsky*, *Kalinin*

Written on May 22, 1919
First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the text
in Krestinsky's
handwriting
with additions by Lenin

335

TELEGRAMS TO THE TAMBOV AND VORONEZH GUBERNIA MILITARY COMMISSARS

1

Urgent, *top priority*
24. V. 1919

Gubernia Military Commissar
Tambov
Copy to the Gubernia Executive Committee

You informed me that you have sent Sokolnikov 669 Communists and will send 200 on the 22nd. Yet only three hundred have arrived. Check this and reply at once. Dispatch must be stepped up most energetically.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

2

Urgent
top priority
24/V. 1919

Gubernia Military Commissar
Voronezh
Copy to the Gubernia Executive Committee

Report how many Communists have been sent to Sokol-

* The last sentence is in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

nikov. Reply at once. Dispatch must be stepped up with the utmost vigour.[229]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the text in an unknown hand

336

TELEGRAM TO THE ODESSA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

24/V—19

Executive Committee
Odessa
Copy to Rakovsky, Council of People's Commissars, Kiev

Allowing foreigners to leave on their own is criminal. To let Russians out under the guise of foreigners is a counter-revolutionary act, tantamount to treason. Foreigners in general should not be allowed out without compensation which can only be ordered by the central government. Citizens of the Entente countries should not be allowed to go, other than by way of exchange carried out by the central government. Not a single Frenchman should be allowed to go out until the return of the soldiers from France, among whom there are many Ukrainians. Those guilty of violating this should be held strictly responsible. Bear in mind that the Finnish Government, obviously at the instigation of the Entente, is hindering the release to Russia of Russian soldiers; therefore do not allow a single bourgeois, a single person, to leave Odessa and the Ukraine. Exceptions—Chinese workers, Persians, by orders from the centre.[230]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the typewritten text, added to and signed by Lenin

337
TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY

Rakovsky

Congratulations on the capture of Alexandria and Znamenka.[231] I emphatically request that the released forces be sent to the Donets Basin.

Lenin

Written on May 24, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

338
TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY

In code

Rakovsky
*Kiev**

Directive of the C.C.

Concentrate all forces on the Donets Basin, take all you can from the Western Front, reducing to a minimum all active operations on your Western Front. Send Pyatakov and Bubnov to Kharkov and Ekaterinoslav, for the most complete, energetic mobilisation of workers for the Southern Front on their personal responsibility.[232]

*Lenin***

Written on May 28, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the typewritten copy with an addition by Lenin

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* The words "In code", "Rakovsky, Kiev" are in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

** The document was signed also by Krestinsky and Kamenev.—*Ed.*

339

TELEGRAM TO A. A. JOFFE*

In code
29. V. 1919

Rakovsky for Joffe
Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine
Kiev

Read this telegram to Rakovsky, Mezhlauk, Voroshilov, Pyatakov, Bubnov, Kviring and other prominent functionaries.

I consider it criminal on your part to have persuaded Trotsky to leave Podvoisky.

Not a single promise is being fulfilled: the Donets Basin has no reinforcements; the mobilisation of workers is proceeding at a disgracefully sluggish pace. You are personally responsible for the inevitable catastrophe. All prominent functionaries must be taken off their jobs and installed in Kharkov and Ekaterinoslav for the total mobilisation of workers; further, one prominent functionary to be sent to each army unit for its advance to the Donets Basin; and everything set in motion for clearing out uniforms from the stores. The ruin of the entire revolution is absolutely inevitable unless there is a swift victory in the Donets Basin, for which it is essential to abandon routine in the Ukraine, to work in a revolutionary spirit, to rally all and sundry, to keep an eye personally on each army unit, each step in the work, to set aside everything except the Donets Basin, to have three soldiers to one rifle. From you not one factual report.

Lenin

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Published in full in 1956
in the book: V. I. Lenin,
Voyennaya perepiska,
Moscow

Printed from the original

* Transmitted by direct line.—*Ed.*

340
TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY

Trotsky

I am extremely astonished at your silence at such a time when, according to information, albeit not fully confirmed, the break-through in the Millerovo direction has reached the dimensions of an almost irreparable catastrophe.[233] What measures have been taken to prevent the enemy joining forces with the insurgents?

Lenin

Written on May 30, 1919
First published in 1938 in the journal *Bolshevik* No. 2

Printed from the text in Sklyansky's handwriting

341
TELEGRAM TO V. I. MEZHLAUK AND K. Y. VOROSHILOV

Comrade Mezhlauk and Comrade Voroshilov
Kharkov

A reply cannot be given before contacting Trotsky, whom Sklyansky is informing by telegraph.

I confirm that reinforcements must be given to the troops of the Southern Front without waiting for uniforms or arms, as our Southern Front will see to that. I have many times pointed out the catastrophic urgency of this matter, but from you I have no exact information on the actual number of reinforcements supplied by you to the Southern Front.

Lenin

Written on May 30, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Published in full in 1956 in the book: V. I. Lenin, *Voyennaya perepiska*, Moscow

Printed from the typewritten copy

342

TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE[234]

I am for expulsion from the Party of people who take part in religious ceremonies.

Lenin

30/V.

Written on May 30, 1919
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*
Printed from the original

343

TO THE ALL-RUSSIA GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

31. V. 1919

Comrade Rattel,

The bearer, Comrade Yevgenia Bogdanovna *Bosh*, is a member of the Council of Defence of the Lithuanian-Byelorussian Republic.

Rifles and other arms are needed, also military instructors for organising workers' battalions in Minsk.

It is said that the matter is being hindered by red tape and so on.

Please *ascertain as precisely and as quickly as possible* what can and should be given, and telephone Sklyansky and myself.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

344

EXCHANGE OF NOTES WITH E. M. SKLYANSKY

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

Why did we not fire on the destroyer?

E. M. SKLYANSKY'S REPLY

It was out of range.

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

Vatsetis must be told by telephone (he will be speaking on the phone today with Zinoviev) and ordered to *tighten things up strongly*.

Written in May or June 1919
First published in part on September 23, 1925, in *Pravda* No. 217
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

345

TELEGRAM TO V. I. MEZHLAUK, K. Y. VOROSHILOV, G. N. MELNICHANSKY, F. A. ARTYOM, G. N. KAMINSKY

In code

Mezhlauk, Voroshilov, Melnichansky,
Artyom, Kaminsky
Kharkov

It is necessary at all costs to put a stop immediately to the habit of holding meetings, to put all work of whatever kind on a war footing, and appoint particular individuals responsible for the performance of precisely defined jobs. There must be military discipline everywhere. The Commander and Revolutionary Military Council of the 2nd Army should make enquiries about everything of their immediate chief, that is to say, Gittis, and put a stop to all fanciful schemes for forming special groups and similar attempts covertly to restore the Ukrainian Front. There are sufficient uniforms and arms both in the Ukraine and at the disposal of Gittis. If the chaos, the meetings and the disputes about priority are eliminated, then everything can be obtained. Report exactly the facts of the fulfilment of specific orders, that is, about the arrival of army units at their destination, the collection of arms, and so on.

Lenin

Written on June 1, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

346

TELEGRAM TO V. I. MEZHLAUK AND K. Y. VOROSHILOV

Mezhlauk, Voroshilov
Kharkov
Copy to Melnichansky, Artyom, Kaminsky

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee met on June 1. In full agreement with Trotsky, it firmly rejects the plan of the Ukrainians to unite the 2nd, 8th and 13th armies, and to create a special Donets unity.[235]

We demand that Voroshilov and Mezhlauk fulfil their direct task—that of building a strong Ukrainian army. Tomorrow or the day after, Trotsky will summon you to Izyum and give orders in more detail. Report more exactly, more frequently and in a strictly factual way what you have done and, in particular, how much army property Voroshilov captured from Grigoriev and in other places.

On behalf of the Political Bureau of the C.C.,

Lenin

Written on June 1, 1919

First published in part in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

347

INSTRUCTION TO THE SECRETARY[236]

Telephone:

1) To Rosta,* for them to send me tomorrow a written report that this has been transmitted by them to so many newspapers,
towns.

2) To Chicherin, that this should go out by radio in German, French and English.

Written on June 2, 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

* Rosta—Russian Telegraph Agency.—*Ed.*

348

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN[237]

Zinoviev for Stalin
Smolny
Petrograd

Okulov points to the isolation of the 7th Army from the Revolutionary Military Council of the Western Front, which causes confusion, relieves front workers of responsibility, and deprives them of energy in their work. Petrograd Military District, subordinated to the Western Front, is giving all its reserves to the 7th Army, not giving them to the front for the remaining armies. Pozern stays in Petrograd all the time, has poor connections with the Council of the front, and sets up parallel supply bodies instead of utilising the front-line bodies already existing. Okulov proposes either the complete subordination of the 7th Army to the command of the front, or giving it a special status of direct subordination to the General Headquarters.

Knowing Petrograd's constant tendency towards independent activity, I think you should help the Revolutionary Military Council of the front to unite all the armies. The other Western armies besides the 7th should be taken care of, too. Report what you have done.

The conflict with Okulov must not be allowed to grow. Think it over well, for it is impossible simply to recall him.

Today I learned of the desertion to the enemy of yet another Petrograd regiment and of the refusal of two regiments to attack. Supervision should be strengthened and more workers added.

Regarding foreigners, I advise not to hurry with deportation. Would not a concentration camp be better, so that they can afterwards be exchanged?*

Lenin

Written on June 3, 1919

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the text in Sklyansky's handwriting, added to and signed by Lenin

* The text of the telegram from the words "The conflict with Okulov" is in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

349

TELEGRAM TO S. I. GUSEV, M. M. LASHEVICH, K. K. YURENEV

In code
3. VI. 1919

Gusev, Lashevich, Yurenev
Revolutionary Military Council, Eastern Front
Simbirsk

Sklyansky has positively promised to give ten thousand rifles in the first half of June. Pay the most serious attention to the Orenburg Cossacks and the Bashkirs, for during the previous offensive we behaved stupidly, missed an opportunity, and did not make use of these forces. Mobilise them urgently, send an intelligent, cool, knowledgeable, experienced man there, pay the greatest attention to this and to unflagging, total mobilisation of the entire front-line area and the collection of rifles from the population.

Lenin

First published in 1934
in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 3

Printed from the original

350

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN FRONT

Revolutionary Military Council
Southern Front

The Revolutionary Committee of Kotelnikovo District, Don Region, by Order No. 27, abolishes the term "stanitsa" and establishes that of "volost", and accordingly divides Kotelnikovo District into volosts.

In various districts of the region the local authorities forbid the wearing of trouser stripes and abolish the word "Cossack".

In the 9th Army Comrade Rogachov is indiscriminately requisitioning horse harness and carts from the working Cossacks.

In many parts of the region local fairs for selling peasant wares are prohibited. Austrian prisoners of war are being appointed commissars in the stanitsas.

We call attention to the need to be particularly careful in breaking up such trivial features of everyday life, which are of no significance whatsoever in the general policy, so as not to irritate the population. Pursue a firm course on basic questions and be tolerant of the archaic survivals to which the population is accustomed.

Reply by telegram.*

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on June 3, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the text in an unknown handwriting, added to and signed by Lenin

351

TO G. V. CHICHERIN[238]

Comrade Chicherin,

1) What have you done to help this Indian?
—in publishing his article?
—in other respects?

2) We must *push on* with *summaries*, *leaflets*, *maps*
of the partition of the world { by Great
" " " " Turkey { Britain and
" " " " *colonies* { France }
Persia, etc.

etc.

3) What about the radio message concerning the "ultimatum" of the British workers? (*Vecherniye Izvestia*, 3. VI.)[239]

Greetings,
Lenin

Written in June, after 3, 1919
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50
Printed from the original

* The words "Reply by telegram" are in Lenin's handwriting. —*Ed.*

352

TELEGRAM TO S. I. GUSEV AND M. M. LASHEVICH

In code
4. VI. 1919

Gusev, Lashevich
Revolutionary Military Council, Eastern Front
Simbirsk

I am deeply concerned about the loss of Agryz and especially Glazov. Have you taken urgent measures? Have you found out the reasons? Trotsky was delighted with the 3rd Army; what has happened to it?

Lenin

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

353

TO M. I. LACIS

4. VI. 1919

Comrade Lacis

Dear Comrade,

I have received your letter and enclosures. Kamenev says—and declares that several *most prominent Cheka men* confirm it—that the Chekas in the Ukraine have brought a host of evils, having been set up *too early* and having allowed a mass of hangers-on to get in.

A most stringent check should be made on personnel—in this, I hope, Dzerzhinsky will assist you from here. It is necessary at all costs to discipline the Cheka men and throw out the alien elements.

When there is an opportunity to send a letter by hand, inform me in greater detail about the screening of the Cheka personnel in the Ukraine, and the results of the work.

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

354
TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

4. VI. 1919

In view of the growing conflict between all the Petrograd C.C. members and Okulov, and considering that the solid unity in Petrograd military work and a speedy victory on this front are absolutely essential, the C.C. Politbureau and Orgbureau decide temporarily to recall Okulov and put him at the disposal of Comrade Trotsky.

On behalf of the Politbureau and Orgbureau of the Central Committee,
*Lenin**

Sent to Petrograd

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

355
TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

In code
4. VI. 1919

Stalin
Smolny
Petrograd

I think it necessary to release Natsarenus for the Ukraine, which is badly in need of workers, while you have a surplus. Further, I request you to visit the Western Front, which has been terribly weakened as regards commissars. It is absolutely essential to support the front as a whole. Would you not find it useful in this connection to have a meeting with Smilga?

---

* Followed by the signatures of L. B. Kamenev (written in Lenin's handwriting), and N. N. Krestinsky, L. P. Serebryakov, and Yelena Stasova, written in N. N. Krestinsky's handwriting.—*Ed.*

I have received the material with your letter, and have begun to examine it.

Lenin

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 50
Printed from the original

356

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN AND G. Y. ZINOVIEV

5. VI. 1919

Stalin, Zinoviev
Smolny
Petrograd

I am referring the question of Natsarenus to the Central Committee. It must be borne in mind that there has been a huge deterioration in the south, threatening catastrophe. They are disastrously understaffed there, while you have enough and to spare.[240] I have informed Chicherin. I have no objection, of course, to your orders to shoot back.[241]

Lenin

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

357

TELEGRAM TO A. S. BUBNOV

In code
5. VI. 1919

Mezhlauk, Deputy People's Commissar for Military Affairs, for Bubnov
Kharkov

Thanks for the detailed news and energetic effort, but the matter must be carried through to the end. Do not rely on anyone and remain personally until fully trained

units have been brought to their destination or until they have joined the front-line units.*

Lenin

First published in 1934 in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 3

Printed from the original

358

TELEGRAM TO D. I. YEFREMOV, MEMBER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 10th ARMY

In code

Yefremov, Member of R.M.C. 10
Tsaritsyn

It was not at all a question of illegal organisations and by no means of leaving it.** I am surprised that such a strange idea could have entered your head. The question was that of total mobilisation of all Tsaritsyn workers and of using all methods of revolutionary, most energetic war with especially stern purging of the rear. Telegraph precisely what urgent measures you are adopting.

Lenin

Written on June 6, 1919

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

359

TELEGRAM TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV

Sokolnikov
Revolutionary Military Council, Southern Front
Kozlov or present whereabouts

Strain every effort to hasten the suppression of the revolt,

---

* At the top of the telegram Lenin wrote: "*Sklyansky*. Bubnov wires on 4/VI that he is leaving for Ekaterinoslav. If you know his address, *readdress this*."—*Ed*.

** Apparently, this refers to Lenin's telegram to D. I. Yefremov dated May 30, 1919 (see present edition, Vol. 35, Document 202). —*Ed*.

otherwise there is a great danger of catastrophe in view of the break-through in the south. Trainees and a battery have been sent to you. Report more frequently.

Lenin

Written on June 6, 1919

First published on February 23, 1938, in *Pravda* No. 53

Printed from the original

360

TO L. D. TROTSKY

In code

Trotsky

Representatives of the Bashkirs have visited me; they ask for their troops to be sent to the east and not to the south. In the east, in their home territory, they say, they can help capture Chelyabinsk quickly, as the Kirghizes, too, will go with them; but in the south they are powerless and fear they will achieve nothing. I very much ask you to weigh these arguments, which in my opinion are serious.

Make Sokolnikov hurry with suppression of the revolt. We are giving Natsarenus to the south. Podbelsky is working well in Tambov Gubernia, where he has roused the Army Procurements Department and is procuring 20,000 pairs of top-boots.

Lenin

Written on June 6, 1919

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

361

TELEGRAM TO S. I. GUSEV AND M. M. LASHEVICH

In code

Gusev, Lashevich
Revolutionary Military Council, Eastern Front
Simbirsk

The situation in the south is so grave that it is unlikely that we shall be able to give you reinforcements. You will have to make a drive on mobilisation, sometimes total,

in the front-line area, on local army procurements and the collection of rifles from the population. Shoot those guilty of concealing rifles. I consider the greatest danger is a possible movement by Kolchak against Vyatka for a break-through to Petrograd. Pay the most serious attention to this, send information more often about the front at Glazov. Sklyansky and I are sending reinforcements there, although Muralov is oddly silent and does not himself ask for reinforcements.

Lenin

Written on June 6, 1919

First published on February 23, 1933, in *Pravda* No. 53

Printed from the original

362

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

8/VI, 2.30 a.m.

Comrade Sklyansky,

I have just received a telegram from Stalin and Zinoviev. I hope you have already issued orders (it is *essential*! extremity! ½ or ⅔, i.e., 2 regiments from the *Archangel* Front, 1 from the *Eastern*) and have *already replied* to Zinoviev. If not, telephone him.

The capture of Izhevsk allows more to be taken from the east (from the *southern* group of the east, of course).

Send me a reply.

More hostages from among the bourgeoisie and officers' families must be taken—in view of the more frequent betrayals. Arrange it with Dzerzhinsky.

Send a telegram to *Melnichansky* (over my signature) that it would be disgraceful to hesitate and not to shoot for non-appearance.

One to *Beloborodov*, too, that it is necessary not to "repel", but to *annihilate* the enemy, and to reply exactly where and how many have been taken, what stanitsas, what has been cleared and how.[242]

Yours,
Lenin

Written on June 8, 1919

First published in 1934 in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 3

Printed from the original

363

TELEGRAMS TO S. I. GUSEV AND M. M. LASHEVICH

1

In code

Gusev, Lashevich
Revolutionary Military Council, Eastern Front
Simbirsk

Give particular attention to the revolt in the Irgiz area.*[243] Take prompt action, mobilise the entire neighbourhood, discuss whether the insurgents can be crushed by means of aeroplanes. Immediate and complete suppression is essential. Why doesn't Gusev go out? There must be no delay.

Lenin

Written on June 11, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

2

Gusev, Lashevich
R.M.C., Eastern Front

I again draw your attention that the regiments going to Petrograd must be absolutely reliable—both soldiers and command personnel. Attend to this yourselves. You must take upon yourselves full responsibility for seeing that these regiments do not betray.

Lenin

Written on June 11, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the text in Sklyansky's handwriting signed by Lenin

* In the text of the telegram as sent Sklyansky replaced the words "in the Irgiz area" by the words "in the Orenburg and Ural districts" —*Ed.*

3

In code
11. VI. 1919

Lashevich
R.M.C., Eastern Front
Simbirsk

Though we perfectly understand the difficulty of your position, we are absolutely compelled to take from you more and more. You must therefore exert all efforts to step up your work on raising new units hoth at the place where you are and in your districts. Wire fulfilment.

Lenin

First published on February 23, 1938, in *Pravda* No. 53

Printed from the original

364

TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY

Rakovsky
Council of People's Commissars
Kiev

On June 3, I sent the following telegram to Schlichter: "Earnestly request you not to hold up consignments for the Byelorussian-Lithuanian army and generally for the Food Commissariat, Minsk, and to dispatch them to destination in Minsk. Accelerate this in every way. Further, it is necessary to increase relief for Petrograd. Please wire me fulfilment of both assignments twice weekly. *Lenin*, Chairman, C.P.C."

Please 1) investigate the reasons for non-receipt of this telegram and prosecute the guilty parties; 2) discuss most urgently emergency measures to aid Petrograd with food and to collect what was promised; appoint a comrade

in each volost responsible for fulfilment of this. I await a reply.

Lenin

Written on June 11, 1919
First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original
and the text
of the telegraph form

365

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

Stalin, copy to Zinoviev
Smolny
Petrograd

Code message received. Both your requests have been fulfilled. Two armoured trains and 500 Communists are leaving today. Trotsky is here. Telegraph, first, whether you have received this reply; second, how you appraise the situation, whether you have recovered what was lost, and what measures have been taken; third, whether you consider possible your arrival tomorrow or the day after or quite impossible; fourth, your opinion about the publication of the document you sent, not in full but parts of it. I urge publication. We ourselves will select what can be published. I await a reply.[244]

Lenin

Written on June 13, 1919
First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the text
of the telegraph form

366

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

Stalin
Smolny
Petrograd

According to information from the sailors who captured Krasnaya Gorka, an English naval force of twenty-three vessels from Libau is expected to reach Kronstadt today,

the 16th. I trust you have taken all measures. Send me a map of the front.[245]

Lenin

Written on June 16, 1919
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the decoded text

367

TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE REPUBLIC

Comrade Gusev
Orgbureau of the C.C.
Comrade Sklyansky

Will you please examine as quickly as possible the proposals of Comrade I. I. Ulyanov so that the *question* can be settled *without* delay.

Ivan Ivanovich Ulyanov, former Chairman of the Urals Revolutionary Committee, a member of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee (since X. 1917), urges the necessity of raising a division from among the Cossack proletarian masses in the area of Saratov and Pokrovsk for operation behind the enemy lines, in the steppes beyond the Urals.

Ulyanov himself, Khaustov (Chairman of the Bureau of the Yaitsk Revolutionary Committee, in Pokrovsk), two brothers of I. I. Ulyanov and a few others, whom he undertakes to select, would like to take up the formation of a special detachment.

Required for this are: 1) special powers;
2) arms and supplies;
3) money.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of Defence

16/VI. 1919

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

368

TO THE C.C., R.C.P.

Comrade Trotsky is mistaken: here there are neither whims, nor mischief, nor caprice, nor confusion, nor desperation, nor any "element" of these pleasant qualities (which Trotsky castigates with such terrible irony).[246] What there is, is what Trotsky overlooked, namely, that the majority of the C.C. is convinced that General Headquarters is a "den", that *all is not well* at Headquarters, and *in seeking a serious improvement*, in seeking ways for a *radical change* it has taken a definite *step*. That is all.

Lenin

Moscow, 17/VI. 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50

Printed from the original

369

TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)[247]

To the Orgbureau of the C.C.: a *general* strike in Tver, then in *Klin*, all this is creating an *extremely menacing* situation. The following measures must be urgently discussed:

when will you discuss?

food

Tver (and **Klin**) especially *railwaymen* and *Red Army men*
to be supplied with food and taken care of.

to help the textile workers *emergency* measures are needed:

1) See that the textile workers (pay attention) are provided with food at *operating* factories.
2) Mobilisation of textile workers ... (10,000) to be *reviewed*.
3) Distribution of newspapers and posters, lectures, step up the work of the People's

The Tver *Military Commissar* is too inexperienced in military matters; he is very *good*, but requires *assistance*.

Commissariat for Education.

4) Tickets (daily) on railways for members of the C.C. of trade union executives.

The ignorance of the textile workers is appalling.

N.B. No one takes care of them, they have no newspapers, no posters. Something more must be done to improve the food situation, something like purchases, etc.

Written in June, prior to 18, 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

370

TELEGRAM TO M. M. LASHEVICH

Lashevich
R.M.C., Eastern Front
Simbirsk

Have learned from Smilga about the revolt in Kustanai and the advance of insurgents on Chelyabinsk.[248] If these are Hungarians and their friends, the crucial moment has come. All efforts must be made to join forces. What are you undertaking? Are you sending an aeroplane? If there is no aviation mixture, probably some could be obtained by putting on extra pressure. Wire me in greater detail.*

Lenin

Written on June 18, 1919

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

* At the top of the document Lenin added the words "In the special 'Soviet' code, which is known to Sklyansky, Medyantsev, Smilga and Lashevich, but not known to army men in general."—*Ed.*

371

REPLY BY DIRECT LINE TO V. I. NEVSKY AND L. S. SOSNOVSKY[249]

The right to vote must be given only to uyezd delegates in strict accordance with the Constitution. I shall get in touch at once with the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee. You should both remain until complete quiet is restored and the whole work is running smoothly.

Lenin

Written on June 20, 1919
Sent to Tver

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

372

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN FRONT

In code

R.M.C., Southern Front

I have just learned from railwaymen that there has been no railway connection with Tsaritsyn since the 18th. The last station, they say, is Log. Is this true? If it is, why did you conceal it and not report? What measures have been taken to restore the situation? Have you given the 10th Army sufficient reinforcements, cartridges and shells? If insufficient, are you now giving these and by what route? The 10th Army complains of a shortage. I draw your attention again and again to the extremely great importance of Tsaritsyn. Has a directive been given not to surrender Tsaritsyn? Are you keeping to it decidedly, or is there a different opinion? Reply precisely and urgently.

Lenin

Written on June 21, 1919

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the text
in Sklyansky's
handwriting

373

TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY

Top priority
With verification of exact time of delivery
21. VI. 1919

Rakovsky, Council of People's Commissars
Kiev
Copies to Schlichter, Podvoisky

For the western army, three train-loads of grain are absolutely necessary in the next few days. I urgently request that the most energetic measures be taken to satisfy the need. It is the last extremity. Telegraph.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

374

TO A. I. SVIDERSKY OR A. D. TSYURUPA

To Svidersky (or Tsyurupa): You must seize at it with both hands. Send the food army there+food supply workers.

Start an agitation among the starving workers: to the Belaya for 5 million poods. Reply what *you are doing*.[250]

Lenin

Written on June 23, 1919
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*
Printed from the original

375

TELEGRAM TO M. M. LASHEVICH AND K. K. YURENEV

In code
27. VI. 1919

Lashevich, Yurenev

The successes of the Cossack insurgents in the Nikolayevsk area are extremely alarming. Give special atten-

tion. Wire what you are doing. Further, discuss whether you can send here about a dozen Siberians who have come over to us from Kolchak and who are wounded and in general unfit for the war but capable of helping here with agitation for the war against Kolchak and Denikin.

Lenin

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

376

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

Sklyansky:

Talk with Vatsetis at once for him to give the greatest attention to Penza and the Saratov-Balashov breach.[251]

*Lenin**

Written at the end of June-beginning of July 1919

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

377

TELEGRAM TO M. V. FRUNZE

Frunze

The development of enemy successes in the area of Nikolayevsk is causing great concern. Report exactly whether you have given sufficient attention to this area. What forces are you concentrating and why are you not speeding up concentration? Urgently report on all the measures you are taking.[252]

Lenin

Written on July 1, 1919

First published in 1940 in
Voyenno-Istorichesky Zhurnal
No. 10

Printed from the text
in Sklyansky's
handwriting

* The document was signed also by Trotsky.—*Ed.*

378

TELEGRAM TO THE POROKHOVO DISTRICT SOVIET

Porokhovo District Soviet
Petrograd
Copy to Berkalov, Naval Firing Range, Petrograd

Impress upon your finance department the impermissibility of levying an extraordinary tax on the special bonus of 50,000 rubles received by Berkalov from the Council of People's Commissars for an outstanding invention.

A decree exempting such rewards from taxation has been adopted by the Council of People's Commissars and is now in print.[253]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on July 2, 1919
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51
Printed from the typewritten copy

379

TO MAXIM GORKY

5/VII. 1919

Dear Alexei Maximych,

You seem to stay too long in Petrograd, really. It is not good to stay in one place. It's tiring and boring. Would you care to take a trip? We can arrange it.[254]

Yours,
Lenin

Sent to Petrograd
First published on March 29, 1928, in *Pravda* No. 75 and *Izvestia* No. 75
Printed from the original

380

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

5/VII. 1919

Comrade Sklyansky,

Petrograders say the city has a lot of (1) shells,

(2) guns on old ships (could do with them for the Volga!),
(3) *field* guns, up to 300.

Very strict measures must be taken urgently and a report made to the *Council of Defence* on maximum speeding up of shipments chiefly by water (it's a crime that there have been no shipments till now. We would have saved Tsaritsyn).

Greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

381

TO THE NIZHNI-NOVGOROD GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE[255]

8. VII. 1919

To the Nizhni-Novgorod Gubernia Executive Committee for dispatch to the Sormovo military and civil authorities

Please arrange immediately, through reliable Communists known personally, a strict and absolutely impartial
—verification of the enclosed application;
—draw up an *exact*, factual description of how many houses, apartments and rooms are occupied (by what number of persons) by office workers and higher technical personnel;
—what factory building is being requested for a children's home and which one it is possible to give;
—verify exactly who was to have had charge of this, the *names* of the responsible persons, their addresses, as well as of those who will carry out the investigation.

Report fulfilment to me immediately by post or messenger.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

382

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN FRONT

*Top priority**

R.M.C., Southern Front
Kozlov

The All-Russia General Headquarters has given me exact information, verified by Kursky, that between May 15 and July quotas fulfilled for the Southern Front amounted to 70,000, and between July 1 and 7 to 22,000. If not received, take special measures and notify me at once whether you still insist on a call-up of the 18-year-olds. Would it not be better for the time being to take others?[256]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

July 8, 1919

First published in 1940 in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 1

Printed from the typewritten text signed by Lenin

383

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

8. VII. 1919

Comrade Sklyansky, Deputy People's Commissar for Military Affairs

Please have the application of Comrade Fyodor Shturmer (or Shturmin)[257] investigated and his request granted if the investigation confirms his claim. Establish precisely what irregularities there were on the part of the local authorities and *inform me* of the result.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

* These words are in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

Enclosures:
1) certificate dated 20. VI. 1919,
2) certificate No. 96 dated 29. IV. 1919,
3) F. Shturmer's letter.

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

384

TELEGRAM TO V. A. RADUS-ZENKOVICH

Top priority
11. VII. 1919

Zenkovich, Chairman, Gubernia Executive Committee
Saratov
To be shown also to Yaroslavsky, Krylenko, Plaksin and the Gubernia Food Commissar

Please verify at once through absolutely reliable and impartial persons whether it is true that Sergei Malyshev is working excellently in Volsk and Balakovo with a barge-shop, further whether it is true that there is a huge crop on the left bank of the Volga, and that there are not enough people for harvesting work. How many thousands, and when, are needed from the northern gubernias? Petrograd and Moscow are without grain. Heroic measures needed. Wire exact reply immediately.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

385

TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY, N. I. PODVOISKY, AND TO ALL UKRAINIAN MILITARY COMMISSARS

Comrades Rakovsky, Podvoisky and all Ukrainian Military Commissars
Kiev
Copy to *Meshcheryakov*
People's Commissariat for Agriculture

According to available information, in state farms of the Ukrainian Republic plundering and destruction of live

and dead stock is being practised by individual military commissars and army units. This is ruining the farms and threatens countless calamities in gathering the rich harvest. On pain of being held strictly answerable, take all measures for immediately putting a stop to such criminal activities; organise effective protection of the state farms, prosecute those guilty. Wire urgently what measures taken and results.

Lenin
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on July 11, 1919
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the typewritten text signed by Lenin

386
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Find out what has been done to organise the extraction of oil from the shales of Syzran Uyezd and of Kazan oil.[258]

Written on July, prior to 14, 1919
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the text in Gorbunov's handwriting

387
TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

Stalin
R.M.C., Western Front

Letter number one received.

Gittis leaves tomorrow, if he has not already done so. Sergo and Sollogub have left. Sergei Medvedev is sick. Smilga has issued instructions for more people to be given. Regarding the Southern Front, we are taking measures.

Kamenev, Smilga, Gusev, Serebryakov are going there today.*

Congratulations on the capture of Ekaterinburg.

Lenin

Written on July 15, 1919

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

388

TO J. HANECKI

1

To Hanecki: draft a reply.[259]

2

To Hanecki: this text will not do. It must be worded thus: you have been promised so many millions within such-and-such a period. We dispatched such-and-such an amount to you on such-and-such a date and will send so much more on such-and-such a date.

Draw up a text on these lines at once.

Written on July 16, 1919

First published on April 22, 1926, in *Izvestia* No. 92

Printed from the originals

389

TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY

Rakovsky
Council of People's Commissars
Kiev

"Three hundred each have been sent to Kiev and Kharkov; tomorrow one hundred each will be sent for Ekaterinoslav and Odessa. Next week we shall send a total of 500, and afterwards 350 a week.** *Krestinsky*."

---

* Lenin marked off the text of the telegram, except the first and last sentences, and wrote in the margin: "In code."—*Ed.*

** This refers to the dispatch of money to the Ukraine, in millions of rubles.—*Ed.*

In informing you of this answer, I ask you to reply to me whether you are satisfied or not, and if not, what precisely you do want.

Lenin

Written on July 16, 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the typewritten copy

390

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

17. VII. 1919

Stalin
R.M.C., Western Front

Lentsman and Peterson from Rezhitsa request me to put a stop to the renaming of former Lettish regiments. I am sending their request to you.[260]

Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

391

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

Moscow
18. VII. 1919

Stalin
R.M.C., Western Front

Your request will be discussed by the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. Sklyansky says that if more is to be taken from the Eastern Front, then it should be for the Southern Front. Tomorrow Smilga and the Commander-in-Chief[261] arrive from the Southern Front.*

Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

* Lenin marked off the text of the telegram and wrote in the margin: "In code."—*Ed.*

392

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN FRONT

19. VII. 1919

Revolutionary Military Council, Eastern Front
Simbirsk

On my behalf please congratulate the 2nd and 5th armies on their victories.[262] Concrete measures against the guerrilla methods should be discussed in detail with political workers and carried out. Report results.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published on February 23, 1938, in *Pravda* No. 53

Printed from the original

393

NOTE ON THE INVOICE OF THE SUPPLIES DEPARTMENT OF THE MOSCOW EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION

INVOICE

To Vladimir Ilyich

From the Supplies Department of the Moscow Cheka

Quantity	Goods sold or supplied to you	Price		Sum	
		Rubles	Kopeks	Rubles	Kopeks
1 pair	Top-boots				
1 —	Suit				
1 —	Braces				
1 —	Belt				

Totalling one thousand four hundred and seventeen rubles and 75 kopeks.

Manager, Supplies Department

I am forwarding herewith 2,000 (two thousand) rubles, and request—and categorically demand—that this bill be amended as it is obviously undercharged.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

19/VII.

Written on July 19, 1919
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

394

TO V. P. MILYUTIN AND P. I. POPOV[263]

Milyutin and *Popov*

Calculate approximately how many thousand million a month we would need, if

(1) grain prices are increased fivefold;
(threefold)

(2) the prices on manufactured goods for the peasants are not fixed, and increased as much as possible to the price limit given by the peasant;

(3) breadstuffs and manufactured goods are sold to workers and office employees at the old prices;

(4) calculations to cover also the Ukraine, the Urals, Trans-Volga area, part of Western Siberia, and the Don;

(5) breadstuff prices are fixed according to districts;

(6) how many thousand million will be required if there is a 10% increase in wages and salaries.

Written on July 22, 1919
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

395

TELEGRAM TO M. V. FRUNZE

25. VII. 1919

Frunze
Revolutionary Military Council, Eastern Front

Our failures and the delays south of Buzuluk, at Uralsk and at Tsaryov strike me as very alarming. Please give the

matter greatest attention and inform me more precisely. The restoration of the railway to Uralsk* is vitally essential.[264]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1941 in the book: *M. V. Frunze na frontakh grazhdanskoi voiny. Sbornik dokumentov* (M. V. Frunze on the Civil War Fronts. A Collection of Documents), Moscow

Printed from the original

396

TELEGRAM TO N. V. KRYLENKO

25. VII. 1919

Krylenko, agent of the All-Russia C.E.C.
Gubernia Executive Committee
Saratov

Delivery quotas must not be violated, for they provide bread for the troops. Send everything above the quotas to the Commissariat for Food in Moscow. Give exact information as to precise amount of grain and where it is.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

397

UNDERLININGS AND AN INSTRUCTION ON A TELEGRAM FROM P. I. VOYEVODIN

... The crops in samara Gubernia are unprecedented for many decades. Lack of necessary work hands threatens to ruin the bumper

* In the text of the telegram Lenin marked off the words: "strike me as very alarming. Please give the matter" and "The restoration of the railway to Uralsk". In the margin he wrote: "In code." —*Ed.*

crop now ready for harvesting in Samara Gubernia, which alone could feed famine-stricken Soviet Russia. All available work hands should be sent immediately to the Volga region; pitch, tar, available implements, must be dispatched to the peasants.

Voyevodin
Political Commissar
of the "October Revolution" train

1) To Svidersky
2) To Glebov
3) To Sereda

All efforts must be exerted. Inform me by telephone during the day tomorrow, 26/7, what has been done.

Written on July 25, 1919

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

398

TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY*

In code
28. VII. 1919

Trotsky
at his present whereabouts

The Politbureau of the C.C. discussed your telegram No. 277/c. It fully agrees with you about the danger of any kind of waverings in the firm carrying out of the plan once it has been adopted.[265] The Politbureau fully recognises the operational authority of the Commander-in-Chief and asks you to make this clear to all top-level executives. The Politbureau appoints Smilga, Serebryakov and Lashevich as members of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Southern Front in addition to the former ones.**

First published in part in 1958
in the book N. F. Kuzmin,
V. I. Lenin vo glave oborony Soretskoi strany (*1918-1920*)
(V. I. Lenin at the Head
of the Defence
(of the Soviet Land (1918-1920)),
Moscow

Published in full in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

* Transmitted by direct line.—*Ed.*
** Lenin wrote further: "On behalf of the C.C., *Stasova*."—*Ed.*

399

TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY

Trotsky, Chairman, Revolutionary Military Council

While in the Ukraine, you, of course, ascertained the position there. Please report the state of the troops, their capacity to offer resistance to Denikin, whether, at last, really serious measures have been taken there, whether they are capable of defending themselves, whether they are giving systematic instruction to the workers and peasants about a secret organisation in Denikin-occupied localities, particularly an organisation in his troops, as also mobilisation of Ukrainians, and whether the Ukrainian Communists realise the full gravity of the situation.

Lenin

July 29, 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the typewritten copy

MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

400

TO BELA KUN[266]

Dear Comrade Bela Kun,

Please do not worry too much and do not give way to despair. Your accusations or suspicions against Chicherin and Rakovsky have absolutely no foundation whatever. We are all working in full accord. We are aware of Hungary's grave and dangerous situation and are doing all we can. But speedy assistance is sometimes physically impossible. Try to hold out as long as you can. Every week is of value. Build up supplies in Budapest, fortify the city. I hope you are adopting the measures I recommended to the Bavarians.* Warmest greetings and a firm handshake. Hold on with all your might, victory will be ours.

Yours,

Lenin

Written at the end of July 1919

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

* See "Message of Greetings to the Bavarian Soviet Republic" (present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 325-26).—*Ed.*

401
TO G. V. CHICHERIN[267]

Comrade Chicherin,

I have received your note and the radio message. I don't think it is worth while taking this seriously and hastening to reply. Let us rather wait and have the laugh on them. Today we shall give it to the press *as a joke*, with a directive to the editors to ridicule it thoroughly (hinting: are they not going by the news from Budapest?) and call the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries all the names they deserve. We shall talk it over again when I arrive.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on August 3 or 4, 1919
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

401
INSTRUCTION ON A LETTER FROM THE SIBERIAN AFFAIRS COMMISSION

Council of People's Commissars

In view of the shortage ol available agitational and propagandist literature, which is moreover of little use for Siberia, the Siberian Affairs Commission has formed a special Literary Section which should in the shortest space of time prepare for the press a number of pamphlets, leaflets and posters of an agitational nature....

Comrade Vorovsky,
Please give *all possible* help.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

5/8

Written on August 5, 1919
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

403
TO L. D. TROTSKY

The Politbureau of the Central Committee, having discussed the very serious questions raised by you,[268] orders that the directive of the Commander-in-Chief on these questions, addressed to the Southern Front and to the 12th Army, be carried out. The directive will be forwarded at once.

The Politbureau, for its part, insists that Odessa should be defended to the last.*

On behalf of the Politbureau of the C.C.,
*Lenin***

Written on August 7, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV* Printed from the original

404
TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

7. VIII. 1919

Zinoviev
Smolny
Petrograd

It has been fully ascertained that only Petrograd can provide workers for the cartridge factories. The Sestroretsk Works and the Pipe Works must be made at all costs to provide the necessary hands at once. Red tape is impermissible, criminal, for without cartridges we are lost. Put on all your pressure and see to fulfilment.

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV* Printed from the original

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* See also present edition, Vol. 35, Document 220.—*Ed.*

** There follows the signature of L. B. Kamenev in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

405

TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU, C.C., R.C.P.(B.)

8/VIII.

To the Orgbureau of the C.C.

I have just again received from a *reliable* source information that board members *are starving* (for example, Markov in the Commissariat for Railways, and others). I insist most emphatically that the Central Committee 1) direct the Central Executive Committee to issue to all Commissariat board members (and those of *similar* status) a grant of 5,000 rubles each;

2) put all of them permanently on specialist's *maximum* pay.

It's too bad, really, to have both them and their families starving!!

Some 100-200 people must be helped out.

Written on August 8, 1919

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

406

TELEGRAM TO YEVETSKY

Yevetsky, Chief of Supplies, Southern Front

During July you were sent a considerable quantity of uniforms and footwear.

Despite this, in all the armies on the Southern Front some units are without boots or clothing.

On pain of being held personally answerable, I order you to take vigorous measures to immediately distribute what has been received among the needy units.*

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

Written on August 8, 1919

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the typewritten text signed by Lenin

* At the top of the telegram Lenin wrote: "Comrade Sklyansky, send ciphered or clear, whichever more convenient. 8/VIII. *Lenin*."—*Ed.*

407

TELEGRAM TO I. T. SMILGA, M. M. LASHEVICH, G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV

Smilga, *Lashevich*, *Sokolnikov*
Kozlov

Report immediately whether forces are being redeployed and concentrated with sufficient energy, whether all necessary measures for speeding up have been taken. Will the operation take place as scheduled or will there be delay? When are you starting? The Ukrainian situation causes me great concern. I await an answer from Lashevich to the questions raised in Moscow.

Lenin

13/VIII. 0.30 hours

Written on August 13, 1919
First published in part in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Published in full in 1956 in the book: V. I. Lenin, *Voyennaya perepiska, 1917-1920*, Moscow

Printed from the typewritten copy

408

TO YELENA STASOVA[269]

Yelena Dmitrievna,

This is an old Party worker. A very valuable person. Drop me a line as to where you think you could place her.

Lenin

13/VIII.

Written on August 13, 1919
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

409
TO M. K. VLADIMIROV

14/VIII. 1919

Dear Comrade Vladimirov,

Your being relieved of membership of the Revolutionary Military Council does not at all signify even the slightest dissatisfaction with you. Nothing of the kind. The Central Committee was *compelled* to do it in order *in general* to make a start at reorganising the R.M.C. of the Southern Front. I am sure that *nothing* will be altered in your work in closest contact with the R.M.C. Drop me a line, please, saying you have received this letter and how things have adjusted themselves along the new lines. Have there been any impediments to your work, and if so, of what kind?

Greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

410
TELEGRAM TO I. T. SMILGA

Smilga
and present whereabouts of the Volsk Revolutionary Committee

I sent you a letter and then received yours of the 16th.[270] Trotsky is here and will stay for a week or so, I think. I hope work with him will go smoothly. Would it not be better for you to come here and reach an agreement? Keep your temper, don't overdo things. If you do not come, send news more frequently.

Lenin

Written in August, not earlier than 16, 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

411

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCILS OF THE 10th AND 4th ARMIES

20. VIII. 1919

Two addresses: R.M.C. 10
R.M.C. 4
Copy to Executive Committee of the German Commune Marxstadt, formerly Ekaterinenstadt

Harvesting of grain by the peasants is of extreme importance for the Republic. Issue strict orders for the peasants to be protected in every way during harvesting, and shoot without mercy for plundering, violence and illegal requisitions on the part of the troops. Report fulfilment.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

412

TO THE AGRICULTURAL SECTION OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET FOOD DEPARTMENT

August 23, 1919

I have received from you samples of fruit from state farms with report No. 4936 (dated 22/8. 1919), and would kindly ask you not to do this in future, not to send fruit, etc., but to supply me with information as to how fruit, etc., from state farms is distributed: *whether it is given to hospitals*, *sanatoria*, *children*, *where precisely it goes and how much of it. How many state farms have you*, *what is the composition of their managements*, *how many send in reports*, *how many have sent and for what period*, etc.?

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

413

TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

26. VIII. 1919

Zinoviev
Smolny
Petrograd

Please collect quickly all the material about subbotniks and send it to me.

Lenin

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

414

TELEGRAM TO N. OSINSKY

26. VIII. 1919

Osinsky
Executive Committee
Tula
Copy to the Commissar of the Arms and Cartridge factories

Do not carry out any compulsory mobilisation, for any kind of work, of workers of the arms and cartridge factories, for arms and cartridges are most important of all. Report fuliilment.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

415

NOTE TO THE SECRETARY[271]

Notify the *Food Research* Institute tomorrow by special memo that in three months' time they must present *exact*

and *complete* data on *practical* achievements in producing sugar from sawdust.

Written on August 26 or 27, 1919
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV* Printed from the original

416
TELEGRAM TO M. M. LASHEVICH

Lashevich

Extremely disquieted by Mamontov's successes.[272] He may cause us terrible harm by destroying roads and stores. Are all measures being taken? Are they sufficiently energetic and swift? Report more irequently.

Lenin

Written on August 28, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV* Printed from the original

417
TO E. M. SKLYANSKY[273]

30. VIII.

Comrade Sklyansky,

Markov told me today that 7 troop-trains of the 21st Division will now arrive daily, that the whole of it will have come in about 4 days' time (news about it was delayed by the storm which disrupted the telegraph for two days), and then one week more will be required for each division. He is doing everything to speed up things.

Ought we not use the whole 21st, or part of it (the larger), to *utterly annihilate* all "Lashevich's godsons"? Think this over properly. The capture of "Sokolnikov's godson" and complete destruction of "Lashevich's godsons" are of great, *immense* importance.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on August 30, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV* Printed from the original

418

RADIO-TELEGRAM TO THE TASHKENT EXECUTIVE COMMITEE

Executive Committee
Tashkent
Copy to all railwaymen

In view of the forthcoming union of Soviet Russia and Soviet Turkestan, it is essential immediately to strain all efforts for repair of locomotives and rolling-stock. The Council of Defence directs that all forces at depots and repair-shops should be mobilised for this purpose. The victory of the revolution and of the Red Army should be utilised to improve the economic life of Turkestan and Russia. Greetings to Red Turkestan.[274]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

Written on August 30, 1919
Published on September 2, 1919, in the newspaper *Izvestia* of the C.E.C. or the Turkestan Republic of the Russian Soviet Federation and Tashkent Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies No. 188

Printed from the typewritten text signed by Lenin

419

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY AND I. T. SMILGA

Comrade Sklyansky and Comrade Smilga,

I know *perfectly* a certain comrade, who is a man of **absolutely exceptional** loyalty, *bravery* and energy (especially as regards explosions and daring raids).*

I direct:

(1) that he be given an opportunity to learn command practice (all speed-up measures to be taken, particularly for the reading of lectures and the like),

what can be done?

* This refers to Kamo (S. A. Ter-Petrosyan).—*Ed.*

(2) that he be charged with organising a special demolition, etc., squad to operate *behind* the enemy's *lines*.

Written in the summer of 1919
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

420

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

Stalin
Headquarters, Western Front

The Politbureau asks you to explain the motives for your decision in regard to Marchlewski. We are surprised that you countermand a decision of the Central Committee all on your own without letting us know.[275]

On behalf of the Politbureau,
Lenin

September 1, 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51
Printed from the decoded text

421

TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY, L. P. SEREBRYAKOV, M. M. LASEIEVICH[276]

Trotsky
Serebryakov
Lashevich

The Politbureau of the C.C., after discussing the telegram from Trotsky, Serebryakov and Lashevich, endorsed the reply of the Commander-in-Chief and expresses surprise at attempts to revise the adopted basic strategic plan.

On behalf of the Politbureau,
Lenin

Written on September 6, 1919
Sent to Orel
Printed from the original

422

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE BOARDS AND PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF ALL THE COMMISSARIATS

I enclose the pamphlet *Observe the Laws of the Soviet Republic* and draw attention to the *law* promulgated by the Sixth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, which is reprinted in it.

I remind you of the absolute necessity of rigidly observing this law.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

6/IX. 1919

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

423

MARKINGS ON THE REPORT OF K. F. MARTINOVICH AND A NOTE TO L. D. TROTSKY, F. E. DZERZHINSKY AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.)

N.B. ... The Revolutionary Military Council failed to pay due attention to the reconnaissance report, and the Southern Front Commander declared it to be a trifle, saying that even if the Cossacks did break through, they would be caught in a trap.

...As a result of all this, about 290 trucks of Clothing and Equinment Depot property were left behind in Kozlov and plundered by the Cossacks and population.

In view of this I consider it necessary to insist on a thoroughly detailed investigalion of the process of evacuation of the institutions of the Southern Front Headquarters, and particularly the Clothing and Equipment Depot, to be carried out by a commission consisting of representatives of the Revolutionary Tribunal of the Republic, the Council of Defence. and the People's Commissariat for State Control.

Comrade Trotsky
Comrade Dzerzhinsky
and the Central Committee

I think the investigation should be instituted through the *Vecheka*.[277]

Lenin

12/IX.

Written on September 12, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

424

TO J. V. STALIN AND M. F. VLADIMIRSKY[278]

Comrades Stalin and Vladimirsky,

An *extremely rigid*, **non-local**, speedy Party inspection, with workers, should be carried out in Petrograd, one that will not be susceptible to "influences".

Lenin

12/IX.

Written on September 12, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

425

TO MAXIM GORKY

15/IX.

Dear Alexei Maximych,

I received Tonkov, and even before that and before receiving your letter we had decided in the Central Committee to appoint Kamenev and Bukharin to check on the arrests of bourgeois intellectuals of the near-Cadet type and to release whoever possible.[279] For it is clear to us that there have been mistakes here, too.

It is also clear that in general the measure of arrest ap-

plied to Cadet (and near-Cadet) people has been necessary and correct.

Reading your frank opinion on this matter, I recall a remark of yours, which sank into my mind during our talks (in London, on Capri, and afterwards):

"We artists are irresponsible people."

Exactly! You utter incredibly angry words about what? About a few dozen (or perhaps even a few hundred) Cadet and near-Cadet gentry spending a few days in jail *in order to prevent plots like that of the surrender of Krasnaya Gorka*, plots which threaten the lives of tens of thousands of workers and peasants.

A calamity, indeed! What injustice! A few days, or even weeks, in jail for intellectuals in order to prevent the massacre of tens of thousands of workers and peasants!

"Artists are irresponsible people."

It is wrong to confuse the "intellectual forces" of the people with the "forces" of bourgeois intellectuals. As a sample of the latter I take Korolenko: I recently read the pamphlet *War, the Fatherland and Mankind*, which he wrote in August 1917. Mind you, Korolenko is the best of the "near-Cadets", almost a Menshevik. But what a disgusting, base, vile defence of imperialist war, concealed behind honeyed phrases! A wretched philistine in thrall to bourgeois prejudices! For such gentlemen 10,000,000 killed in an imperialist war is a deed worthy of support (by *deeds*, accompanied by honeyed phrases "against" war), but the death of hundreds of thousands in a *just* civil war against the landowners and capitalists evokes ahs and ohs, sighs, and hysterics.

No. There is no harm in such "talents" being made to spend some weeks or so in prison, if this *has* to be done to *prevent* plots (like Krasnaya Gorka) and the death of tens of thousands. But we exposed these plots of the Cadets and "near-Cadets". And we *know* that the near-Cadet professors quite often *help* the plotters. That's a fact.

The intellectual forces of the workers and peasants are growing and gaining strength in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie and its henchmen, the intellectual lackeys of capital, who imagine they are the brains of the nation. Actually, they are not the brains, but sh—.

To the "intellectual forces" who want to bring science to the people (and not to act as servants of capital), we pay a salary *above the average*. That is a fact. We take care of them. That is a fact. Tens of thousands of officers are serving in our Red Army and are winning victory, despite the hundreds of traitors. That is a fact.

As for your moods, I can "understand" them all right (since you raise the question whether I shall be able to understand you). Often, both on Capri and afterwards, I told you: You allow yourself to be surrounded by the worst elements of the bourgeois intelligentsia and succumb to their whining. You hear and listen to the howl of hundreds of intellectuals over the "terrible" arrest for a few weeks, but the voice of the masses, the millions, the workers and peasants, whom Denikin, Kolchak, Lianozov, Rodzyanko, the Krasnaya Gorka (and other *Cadet*) plotters are threatening—this voice you do not hear and do not listen to. I quite understand, I quite fully understand, that in this way one can write oneself not only into saying that "the Reds are just as much enemies of the people as the Whites" (the fighters for the overthrow of the capitalists and landowners are just as much enemies of the people as the landowners and capitalists), but also into a belief in the merciful god or our Father the Tsar. I fully understand.

×

No really, you will go under unless you tear yourself out of this environment of bourgeois intellectuals! With all my heart I wish that you do this quickly.

Best regards,

Yours,

Lenin

× For you are not writing anything! And for an artist to waste himself on the whining of rotting intellectuals and not to write—is this not ruin, is it not shameful?

Written on September 15, 1919
Sent to Petrograd

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

426

TO L. D. TROTSKY, L. P. SEREBRYAKOV. M. M. LASHEVICH

Trotsky, Serebryakov, Lashevich

The Politbureau of the C.C. considers it absolutely inadmissible that Selivachov is still without special supervision despite the C.C. decision. We insist on communication being established, if only by aeroplane, and on Serebryakov being sent to him immediately to act as commissar to Selivachov.[280] The behaviour of divisional commanders in the area of the second break-through is extremely suspicious. Take heroic precautionary measures.

The Politbureau directs Comrade Stalin to talk with the Commander-in-Chief and reprove him for the inadequacy of his measures to establish communication with Selivachov and prevent suspicious negligence, if not treachery, in the area of the second break-through;

—further, to reprove the Commander-in-Chief for the extreme passivity of Olderogge and point to the necessity of taking measures either by replacing him by a more energetic commander (discuss the question of Frunze), or by sending highly reliable and energetic commissars, or by both.

Written on September 16, 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

427

TO MAXIM GORKY

Alexei Maximych,

Comrade Zinoviev will outline to you a plan of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.[281] We should try it. Will you please draft a letter after talking it over in detail with Zinoviev.

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

Written in September, not earlier than 26, 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

428

TO THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL

30. IX. 1919

Comrade Lomov
or Milyutin
Deputy Chairmen, S.E.C.

Comrade Lomov,

Please forward to the appropriate department

1) the enclosed document with an instruction to let me know *what precisely has been done* in this sphere,[282]

2) an inquiry as to what has been done to utilise the oil occurring (according to Kalinin) *within 70 versts of Orenburg*.

With comradely greetings,

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

429

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

Comrade Sklyansky,

The question of reinforcing the division taken from the Eastern Front must be urgently worked up.

Cannot we add to it 20-30% of new recruits? Mobilised workers? Perhaps 5% of Communists, 15% of workers, 10% of peasants? Then it would be augmented by 30%. Perhaps this is technically admissible (without weakening the whole division as regards toughness)?

This must be *urgently* considered and decided.

Further, the dispatch of rilles to the Eastern Front must now *be stepped up*.

Should not the Eastern Front be given the following assignment: to consider and carry out a regrouping of the troops so as to reinforce *all* the divisions by 15-30 per cent

and thereby bring the whole army up to its previous strength?

Lenin

Written in September 1919

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

430

TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV*

2. X. 1919

Zinoviev
Smolny
Petrograd

Your letter received. Warmly greet you and all Petrograd workers for energetic work. Am confident you will carry out mobilisation to the maximum extent.

Lenin

Petrogradskaya Pravda No. 223, October 3, 1919

Printed from the original collated with the newspaper text

431

TO I. T. SMILGA

In code *by direct line*
4. X. 1919

Smilga
Revolutionary Council, South-Eastern Front

Shorin is cheating, keeping Budyonny for himself and in general not showing any energy in assisting the troops of the Southern Front. You will be wholly responsible for putting an end to this scandalous situation, which is tantamount to treachery. Telegraph in detail what actual measures of serious assistance and serious control over their fulfilment you are adopting, and with what success.

Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

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* The telegram bears a note by Lenin: "By direct line to Smolny. Inform me of the time, at what hour delivered to Smolny."—*Ed.*

432

TELEGRAM TO THE ORENBURG GUBERNIA COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.) AND GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

8. X. 1919

Gubernia Party Committee
Gubernia Executive Committee
Fortified Area
Orenburg

Do everything to help the Southern Front with saddles, horses, soldiers. Telegraph what you are doing and will do.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1933 in the book: V. Trotsky, *1919 god v Sredne-Volzhskom kraye* (*Khronika revolyutsionnykh sobytii*) (The Year 1919 in the mid-Volga Region (Chronicle of Revolutionary Events)), 2nd Edition, Moscow-Samara

Printed from the original

433

TO THE COMRADES OF THE PETROGRAD GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

10. X. 1919

Comrades,

Comrade Yunosov told me about your case. I heard him out attentively and reached the conclusion that the case was decided correctly and in your favour, since the person who uttered those thoughtless and profoundly unjust words had been reprimanded.

That is enough. You are vindicated, he stands accused. I earnestly request and advise you now to put aside all recollection of it and forget the whole matter.

I am sure that all the workers will now make for the front. Denikin is pressing hard, *the danger is serious*.

With comradely greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

434

REMARKS ON A LETTER FROM G. V. CHICHERIN

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

Not knowing whether, among the mass of radio messages, you have read about Kautsky's book, I am sending you this excerpt separately. It seems to me, from what I am able to read of our literature, that we have not thrown sufficient light on the role of state capitalism under proletarian political power, a role which has escaped Kautsky. What we have is not yet communism, but state capitalism, with inequality of remuneration including piecework payment, with forms of compulsion, sometimes reproducing the old regime, with centralised management even of production and a restricted factory self-administration. We have a Red Army of state capitalism with an apparatus of very strong compulsion, and not an army of communism....

This is not a sign of capitalism.

This is due to the forms of struggle of the enemy and the level of culture and not due. of capitalism.

Unfortunately, there is almost no real centralisation.

This is altogether wrong. ???

#I don't think so. We have the struggle of the first stage of the transition to communism with **peasant** and capitalist attempts to defend (or to revive) commodity production.

Lenin

12/X.

Written on October 12, 1919
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

435

TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV AND M. V. FRUNZE

13. X. 1919

Two addresses
Smirnov, Revolutionary Military Council 5
Frunze, Commander of the Turkestan Front

Directive of the C.C.: all fronts to be robbed in favour of the Southern. Consider extra-urgent measures, for example, speedy mobilisation of local workers and peasants, to replace your units that can be sent to the Southern Front. The situation there is menacing.* Telegraph in detail in code.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

436

TO THE DUTCH COMMUNISTS[283]

14. X. 1919

Dear Friends,

I send you best greetings. Our position is very difficult owing to the offensive of 14 states. We are making the greatest efforts. The communist movement in all countries is growing remarkably. The Soviet system has everywhere become a practical slogan for the working masses. This is a step forward of tremendous world-historic significance.

* Lenin marked off the text of the telegram from the words "all fronts to be robbed" to "The situation there is menacing" and wrote in the margin: "In code."—*Ed.*

The victory of the international proletarian revolution, despite everything, is inevitable.

Yours,
N. Lenin

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from
the handwritten copy
Translated from the
German

437

TO V. A. AVANESOV, E. M. SKLYANSKY, M. I. ROGOV, F. F. SYROMOLOTOV, V. P. MILYUTIN

15. X. 1919

Comrades Avanesov, Sklyansky, Rogov
(Moscow Soviet)
Syromolotov and Milyutin

The Central Committee has instructed a commission consisting of Lenin, Trotsky, Krestinsky, and Kamenev

> "to prepare a report on the search for all kinds of property suitable for military purposes and military supplies, and providing for severe measures of punishment for concealment".

This commission decided to set up a subcommission of the above-named comrades (from the Supreme Economic Council—Syromolotov or Milyutin, or someone from its Transport and Materials Department, etc., by agreement between us and the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council) and instruct it to *draft a decree* by Saturday (to be submitted to the Council of Defence).[284]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of Defence

P.S. Concerning the aims of the decree, Trotsky or I can be phoned, if necessary.

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

438

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY, N. A. SEMASHKO AND L. B. KAMENEV

15. X. 1919

Comrades Sklyansky
Semashko
L. B. Kamenev

By decision of the C.C., the comrades named are in structed to set up a subcommission to draft a decree on a Committee of Aid for the Wounded, which committee should be under the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.[285]

Submit it to the Political Bureau of the C.C. by Saturday.

The C.C. regards the importance and extreme urgency of such a decree as established and indisputable.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

439

TELEGRAM TO G. N. KAMINSKY

The tardiness shown by you and other executives in the matter of entraining the cavalry is outrageous.

I warn you that the functionaries responsible for military work in Tula are obliged to display the greatest energy and efficiency, which I do not see in practice. Send me at once an explanation of the reasons for the delay. I shall

call the culprits to strict account. I demand that the dispatch be expedited to the utmost of your power.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

Written on October 16, 1919
First published in part in 1960 in the book: *Tak zakreplyalis zavoyevaniya Oktyabrya* (Thus Were the October Gains Consolidated), Tula
Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the text in Kaminsky's handwriting

440
TO L. D. TROTSKY

17/X.

Comrade Trotsky,

Last night in the Council of Defence we adopted a decision of the Council and sent it to you in code (it would be better for you to use your own code, as Karakhan's, used by Zinoviev, causes a delay of several hours).

As you see, your plan has been adopted.

But the withdrawal of the Petrograd workers to the south, of course, is not rejected (it is said that you expanded on this to Krasin and Rykov); to talk about this prematurely would mean diverting attention from the struggle to the last.[286]

The attempt to envelop and cut off Petrograd, of course, will call for corresponding changes, which you will carry out on the spot.

Instruct some reliable person in each department of the Gubernia Executive Committee to *collect* Soviet *papers* and documents in preparation for evacuation.

I enclose the appeal which the Defence Council instructed me to draw up.*

---

* This refers to the appeal: "To the Workers and Red Army Men of Petrograd" (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 68-69).—*Ed.*

I was in a hurry and it is *none too good.*
Better put my signature beneath your appeal.

Greetings,
Lenin

Written on October 17, 1919 Printed from the original

441
INSTRUCTION ON I. N. SMIRNOV'S TELEGRAM[287]

1) Give 30,000 uniforms.

2) *The entire* 5th Army to be taken to *the south* **at once**, and not after the Ishim (for the river Tobol is much larger and broader than the river Ishim, and the length of the front when transferred to the river Ishim is insignificantly shortened).

3) Turn the offensive in the direction of the Ishim into a demonstration and withdraw (having prepared for this in the **shortest** space of time) to the river Tobol.

Instruct the Commander-in-Chief to discuss my proposals 1-3.

Lenin

Written on October 17, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV* Printed from the original

442
TELEGRAM TO M. V. FRUNZE

In code

Frunze
Revolutionary Military Council of the Turkestan Front

Give all your attention, not to Turkestan but to the complete liquidation of the Urals Cossacks, even if you have to use diplomatic means.[288] Make every effort to speed up help for the Southern Front. Could not the Orenburg Cossacks be taken to the front near Petrograd or some other front? Report more frequently in code on actual fulfilment.

Lenin

Written on October 18, 1919
First published on January 21, 1937, in *Pravda* No. 21 and *Izvestia* No. 19 Printed from the original

443
TO L. D. TROTSKY

In code
18/X.

Trotsky

I think that agreement with Estonia against Yudenich is impossible, for she is powerless to do anything even if she wanted to. Moreover, Yudenich's base is probably not in Estonia, but outside it, on the sea coast covered by the British fleet. We have sent you many troops, everything depends on the speed of the offensive against Yudenich and on encircling him. Strain all efforts to hasten matters. The huge revolt in Denikin's rear in the Caucasus[289] and our successes in Siberia raise hopes of complete victory, if we immensely hasten the liquidation of Yudenich.

Lenin

Written on October 18, 1919

First published on February 23, 1938, in *Pravda* No. 53

Printed from the original

444
TELEGRAM TO B. I. GOLDBERG

19. X. 1919

Goldberg, Commander of the Reserve Army
Kazan

Have you received enough men for forming military units? Is the work going well? Are all the local functionaries helping you zealously?* Read this telegram to them. Reply yourself and let them reply to me as well.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published on February 23, 1938, in *Pravda* No. 53

Printed from the original

* The text of the telegram from the word "men" to "zealously" was marked off by Lenin and he wrote "In code" in the margin.—*Ed.*

445

TELEGRAM TO A. D. NAGLOVSKY

19. X. 1919

Naglovsky, authorised agent of the Council of Defence for introducing martial law on the railways of the Northern Front
Petrograd
Copies to Trotsky, Zinoviev
Ksandrov,
Markov, People's Commissariat for Railways
Dzerzhinsky, Vecheka
Moscow

For the purpose of integrating supervision over the work of the railways of the Petrograd junction in the very near future, I instruct Naglovsky to perform the duties of specially authorised agent of the Council of Defence for introducing martial law on the railways of the Petrograd junction within an area of 100 versts of Petrograd and order him immediately to take over control of this area from Ksandrov. Report fulfilment.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

446

TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY AND G. Y. ZINOVIEV*

Trotsky, Zinoviev
Petrograd

Have measures been taken to establish secure radio Communication between Kharlamov's group and Headquarters of the 7th Army?[290] Is this communication sufficiently

* The document bears a note in Sklyansky's hand: "*In code*. By direct line at once."—*Ed*.

reliable? What about all the other groups? If our help is required, telephone.

Lenin

Written on October 20, 1919

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the text in Sklyansky's handwriting,

447

TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV

All in code
21. X. 1919

Smirnov
Revolutionary Military Council 5
Copies to Pozern and Sternberg
Revolutionary Military Council, Eastern Front

Frumkin passed on to me your ideas about the Eastern Front being unnecessary. Repeat more exactly. We are devilishly in need of command personnel. Further, inform me how many troops, considering the offensive you have begun, you can give to the Southern Front, and when.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

448

TELEGRAM TO V. M. GITTIS AND A. I. POTYAEV

All in code
21. X. 1919

Gittis, Potyaev
Revolutionary Military Council, Western Front

There are reports that fraternising has begun between the Polish soldiers and ours.[291] Check on this as accurately as possible and report what measures you are taking* in

* Followed in the manuscript by the words "to step up fraternisation and" which were deleted by Sklyansky.—*Ed.*

order that impostors and enemy ruses shall be rendered completely harmless, and so that thoroughly useful people or commissars take part in the fraternising. Report everything you know about the temper of the Polish soldiers.*

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

449
TO L. D. TROTSKY

18/X. 1919

Comrade Trotsky,

I was somewhat taken aback by Zinoviev's demand yesterday for more regiments. Is it true about the Estonians?

Nevertheless, I passed it on to Sklyansky, and an order has been given to have them sent from Tula (again from Tula!).

It is not safe, however, to take any more from the reserves of the Southern Front. Would it not be better to search elsewhere?

It is *devilishly* important for us to finish with Yudenich (precisely to finish—to deal a *final* blow). If the offensive has begun, is it not possible to mobilise another 20,000 Petrograd workers and exert really mass pressure on Yudenich?

If there are 5-10 thousand good attacking troops (and you do have them), then surely a city like Petrograd can give about *30* thousand to *follow up*, as an aid *to* them. Rykov says that a great deal of property has been "found" in Petrograd; there is bread, and meat is on the way.

It is necessary to finish with Yudenich *soon*; then we shall turn *everything* against Denikin.

In my opinion it is dangerous to take units from the

* The text from the words "so that" to the end is in Sklyansky's handwriting.—*Ed.*

Southern Front now: they have started an offensive there, and it must be extended.

Greetings,
Lenin

P.S. I have just learned from Sklyansky that 2 regiments intended for Petrograd have reached Kotlas. We shall expedite their movement.*

New information: this is not true.

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

450

TO L. D. TROTSKY

Comrade Trotsky,

In my opinion, Chicherin is right.[292] Has it been verified that the Estonians are fighting? Is there not deception here? Or is it not *only White* Estonians (officers) who have joined Yudenich, people who constitute a minority, and an insignificant one, among the Estonians?

We must think it over ten times, measure the cloth ten times, for there is a mass of information pointing to a desire for peace on the part of the Estonian *peasantry*.

Greetings,
Lenin

22/X.

Written on October 22, 1919

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

451

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)[293]

To all members of the Politbureau, for signature

I think the request should be granted and a decision taken that either the Commander-in-Chief should be called

* This paragraph is crossed out in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

in personally, or the draft directives sent to him for his *urgent* opinion. The Commander-in-Chief to be informed about this in writing.

Lenin

22/X.

Written on October 22, 1919

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

452

TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE OREL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Chairman of the Executive Committee
Orel
Copy to the Chairman of the Cheka

Send absolutely at once to Council of People's Commissars, Kremlin, Moscow, all manuscripts taken during the search at the home of the writer Ivan Volny.[294] You are personally answerable for their safekeeping. Telegraph fulfilment.*

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on October 22, 1919

First published on April 13, 1965, in *Izvestia* No. 88

Printed from the text in V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich's handwriting, added to and signed by Lenin

453

TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY AND G. Y. ZINOVIEV**

Trotsky, Zinoviev
Petrograd

The Commander-in-Chief wires rejection of the request for dispatch of a brigade over and above the railway regi-

* The last sentence is in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*
** Transmitted by direct line.—*Ed.*

ment and 2 regiments of the 6th Army, of which one is already en route. I think this is correct, because there is nowhere to take them from, and extremely fierce fighting is still in progress in the south near Orel. Far the time being, reinforcements of 1,500 will be sent to you. Measures have been taken to send Letts in addition, if they can be found. It is proposed to give you 600 men from the Soviet School.[295]

Lenin

Written on October 24, 1919

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the text in Sklyansky's handwriting

454

TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN FRONT[296]

25. X. 1919

Comrade Smilga and other members of the R.M.C. of the Front and Armies

I strongly recommend the bearer, Comrade Stepan Nazarov, a Bolshevik, whom I have known personally for a long time.

He and other Ivanovo-Voznesensk comrades have formed an *intelligently organised* group (of from 300 to 500 men) for all-round service to and revitalisation of the whole army.

I warmly recommend the comrades and earnestly request that all measures be taken to ensure they will not be lost, but allocated correctly and carefully. I particularly ask to be informed of the receipt of this letter and of where and how the comrades are assigned.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

455

TELEGRAM TO K. A. PETERSON

Peterson
Latvian Commissar for Military Affairs

Report immediately:

1) Have you already sent the mobilised men to join the reserve battalion of the Lettish division? How many have been sent? Was the mobilisation carried out with sufficient vigour?

2) Have you fulfilled the task of sending reinforcements to the Lettish regiment, to the 7th Army? Both tasks brook no delay.

Lenin

Written on October 25, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the text in Sklyansky's handwriting

456

TELEGRAM TO THE PUGACHEV UYEZD FOOD CONFERENCE[297]

Report at once exactly which villages or volosts have completely fulfilled the surplus-appropriation quotas.

Lenin

Written on October 26, 1919
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

457

TO ALL SOVIET INSTITUTIONS AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES

27. X. 1919

The bearer, Comrade Boris Solomonovich Weissbrot, a doctor, is personally known to me. He is an old Party

worker. Please treat him with *full* confidence and give him *every* assistance.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

458
TO THEODORE ROTHSTEIN*

18/X. 1919

Comrade Rothstein,

It is unforgivable your keeping us so poorly informed. To have money and not to engage a secretary to collect all socialist literature, pamphlets, and cuttings. To have money and not to arrange for photographing copies in reduced size. All this is inexcusable. All this can and should be arranged. Otherwise communication and information are thoroughly bad. Correct this, and write, if only rarely.

Best greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

459
TO N. A. SEMASHKO[298]

Comrade Semashko,

Discuss this (if need be, with the People's Commissariat for Railways and the Commissariat for Military Affairs) and reply *by telephone* whether you are taking action, *how* and *when*. *Urgent!*

Lenin

27/X.

Written on October 27, 1919

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

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* On the back of the document Lenin wrote: "Please send in code to Rothstein."—*Ed.*

460

TO V. A. KUGUSHEV[299]

28. X. 1919

Comrade Vyacheslav Alexandrovich Kugushev
Ufa
Comrade Kugushev,

I have a favour to ask of you. Lydia Alexandrovna Fotieva, whom I have known well since before 1905 and with whom I have been working for a long time in the C.P.C., is travelling to Ufa.

L. A. Fotieva is quite ill and it is our business to *repair* this "state property" (C.P.C. secretary). Will you please take all steps to help L. A. Fotieva get fixed up, have medical treatment, and be fed *to bursting point*.

Comrade A. D. Tsyurupa has told me that you know L. A. Fotieva and will not refuse to help her.

I thank you in advance; please drop me a line by messenger (military, for example) that you have received this letter.

With comradely greetings,

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

461

TELEGRAM TO D. N. AVROV, J. KH. PETERS, V. G. GROMAN

October 28, 1919

Avrov, Council of the Fortified Area
Peters, Automobile Registration and Distribution Commission
Groman, special agent of the Council of Defence
Petrograd
Copy to Comrade *Markov*, Deputy People's Commissar for Railways, Moscow
Copy to Zinoviev, Smolny*

In a number of decisions, the Council of Defence has

* This phrase is in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

instructed its authorised agent, Groman, and the Petrograd Evacuation Commission, to dispatch daily from the Petrograd area 100 truck-loads of valuable freight, in accordance with the plan of the Evacuation Commission of the Council of Defence. You are directed to provide the Petrograd Evacuation Commission with the necessary means of transport by putting ten motor-lorries daily at its disposal as from this day, October 28. Report fulfilment.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defence

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the typewritten text, added to and signed by Lenin

462
TO Z. P. SOLOVYOV

1. XI. 1919

Deputy People's Commissar for Health

Comrade Solovyov,

1) Look through my remarks and return them, please, with your comments.
2) Are there any statistics as to the **total** number of doctors in Moscow?
3) Have any data on the physician-population ratio been published (where and when)?
4) —ditto: methods of control over doctors (that they are not superfluous, that they are registered)?
5) Ratio (and number) of doctors in Petrograd?
6) —in other towns?
7) Ought we not publish statistics of the number of doctors and ratio for verification? **Briefly**, in the *newspapers*, so that everyone can check?

Greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

463

TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY AND G. Y. ZINOVIEV

In code
by direct line
1. XI. 1919

Trotsky, Zinoviev
Petrograd

The entire military and political situation requires the speedy concentration of very great forces near Petrograd, in order to crush Yudenich once and for all. I advise that this be implemented through the Commander-in-Chief or through the Politbureau.

Lenin

First published in 1941 in the book: *Dokumenty o geroicheskoi oborone Petrograda v 1919 godu* (Documents on the Heroic Defence of Petrograd in 1919)

Printed from the original

464

TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV

In code
1. XI. 1919

Smirnov
Revolutionary Military Council 5

Report how many divisions can be transferred from you, which, and when. Inquire of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the 3rd Army and the front. Reply immediately.

Lenin

First published on February 23, 1938, in *Pravda* No. 53

Printed from the original

465
TELEGRAM TO B. I. GOLDBERG

In code
1. XI. 1919

Goldberg, Commander of the Reserve Army
Kazan

Report on the state of your formations, whether the All-Russia General Headquarters has given you everything promised, how matters stand as regards combating typhus and billeting, and whether help by the Party has expanded.

Lenin

First published on February 23, 1938, in *Pravda* No. 53

Printed from the original

466
TELEGRAM TO M. V. FRUNZE

By direct line
In code

Frunze, copy to Sundukov, Zul

The struggle against the Urals Cossacks is dragging out. I do not see any measures taken to finish with this front quickly, despite the fact that I demanded that you concentrate all your attention on this.* I inform you that the enemy is gaining strength, using the respite you have given him, and trying to end matters by a truce only. Report at once what measures you have taken to rout the enemy.

Lenin

Written on November 2, 1919
First published on July 24, 1928, in *Pravda* No. 170

Printed from the text in Sklyansky's handwriting

* See this volume, Document 442.—*Ed.*

467
TO L. D. TROTSKY

Trotsky

I thought Chicherin had informed you that he was notifying the Estonians of our offensive against them if they let Yudenich in. I think we ought to enter Estland if they let Yudenich in, and, if this threat is real, we must speed things up by vehement action.[300] Chicherin is against making this public, for then the Entente would adopt their own measures.

Lenin

Written in November, not later than 6, 1919

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the text in an unknown handwriting

468
TELEGRAM TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV

11. XI. 1919

Bryukhanov, Chairman, Special Food Commission of the Eastern Front

Supplies for the starving workers of the Urals are urgently needed. Report what you have done, how much you have provided, and whether these workers can be sent out to collect grain beyond Kurgan. Your complaints about being short-handed are rather strange.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

469
TO THE CHIEF PEAT COMMITTEE[301]

11. XI. 1919

Re the report submitted for 1919:

1) It is desirable to publish the *results* in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* (and send me 1 copy).

2) There are plenty of detailed tables, but *no summary tables*:

—comparison of production in 1918, 1919 and *earlier* (number of days? % of machines in operation? etc.)

—concise map? or distance from railway stations?

—conditions for setting in motion *all* machines?

—comparable data on production in relation to consumption (food and manufactures)?

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

470
TO YEVGENIA POPOVA

20. XI. 1919

Comrade Popova
Manager of the 1st House of Soviets

Please give a room (one, at least, to begin with, later two—for a translator)

to Comrade Keeley, an American engineer, who has come to help the Soviet Republic.

Please give him a room not higher than the 2nd floor and the warmest you have.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

471

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 3rd ARMY, THE PERM GUBERNIA COMMISSAR FOR FOOD, THE COMMISSAR OF THE PERM RAILWAY, AND THE EKATERINBURG GUBERNIA COMMISSAR FOR FOOD[302]

R.M.C. 3
Gubernia Commissar for Food
Perm
Commissar of Perm Railway
Gubernia Commissar for Food
Ekaterinburg
Copy to the Metals Department, Ekaterinburg*

At all costs provide all workers of the Urals, particularly the Ekaterinburg district, Kizel and other coal-mining districts, with full supplies of essential foodstuffs. All army authorities and railway officials are responsible for unconditional fulfilment. Reply at once how many poods have been supplied, and where.**

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

Written on November 20, 1919
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

472

TO A. S. YENUKIDZE

21. XI. 1919

Comrade Yenukidze,

Will you please give instructions for a *little extra food* to be supplied in general (and that mentioned below in particular) to the following comrades:

---

* The words "Copy to the Metals Department, Ekaterinburg" are in Sklyansky's handwriting.—*Ed.*

** The words "how many poods have been supplied, and where" are in Sklyansky's handwriting.—*Ed.*

The first has come to *help* the Soviet government. He is our guest. Assistance is essential.

The second is a founder of Finnish Social-Democracy. An old man. The Finns helped us very considerably before 1905. It is now our duty to help them:

1) *Keeley*, an American engineer, who has come to help the Soviet government
(in particular, *sugar*, *chocolate*, *confectionery*).
Hotel National, No. *321*.
2) *Ursin* (founder of Finnish Social-Democracy).
Hotel Metropole, No. *471*
(in particular, *butter*).

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

473

TELEGRAM TO B. S. WEISSBROT*

Weissbrot
Samara

I am passing on your report to Semashko straight away.[303] We shall try to take all steps. We have mobilised dentists as feldschers. I wish you all the best.

Lenin

Written on November 25, 1919

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the text of the telegraph form

474

TO N. A. SEMASHKO[304]

27. XI. 1919

Comrade Semashko,

(1) Please return the enclosed to me with your comments.

* Transmitted by direct line.—*Ed*.

(2) Have the facts *verified* (get *responsible persons* to state *these* facts *quickly* and accurately above their signatures).

(3) Weissbrot's plan. Your amendments or counter-plan?

Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

475
TO V. P. MILYUTIN

Supreme Economic Council

Comrade Milyutin,

Please discuss the drafting of uniform, brief, but essential questions (or forms) for printing periodic reports in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* on the *results* of work for the development of productive forces (the number of employed workers; production, extraction; productivity per worker, etc.) in all or in the main branches of the economy.

Let me have your opinion.

Lenin

The reports must be divided into 2 parts:

(a) a part which can only be described (plan, conditions, specific features, etc.);

(b) a part which can and should be expressed in figures.

Both to be published.

In the second part, essentials to be selected (for summaries and comparisons).

(Cf. an example of vagueness—the Chief Shale Committee, report on October 1, 1919.) It is being printed. Where. How often.

(The secret part should be printed in % %; for example: October 1, 1919—100, number of workers; November 1, 1919—120, etc.)

Written on November 27, 1919

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the typewritten copy

476

TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

I think somebody should be elected *also* from *Kiev* Gubernia.[305]

When there is an All-Ukraine Central Executive Committee (so far there is none), then they will leave. Why should they not be with us so long as there is no Ukrainian C.E.C.?

Lenin

Written in December, not earlier than 5 and not later than 9, 1919

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

477

TO YELENA STASOVA[306]

Y. D.,

A code message must be sent that *nobody* anywhere should ever use the nickname Kamo, which should immediately be replaced by another, *a new one*. The town where Kamo is must be mentioned **only** in code.

Lenin

Written in December, after 9, 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

478

TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)

10. XII. 1919

Orgbureau of the C.C.

In my opinion, Frunze asks too much. We must first capture the whole of the Ukraine, Turkestan can wait and make the best of it for a time.[307]

Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

479

TELEGRAM TO SH. Z. ELIAVA, J. E. RUDZUTAK, V. V. KUIBYSHEV

In code
11. XII. 1919

Eliava, Rudzutak, Kuibyshev
Tashkent

Your demands for personnel are excessive. It is absurd, or worse than absurd, when you imagine that Turkestan is more important than the centre and the Ukraine. You will not get any more. You must manage with what you have, and not set yourselves unlimited plans, but be modest.

Lenin

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

480

UNDERLININGS ON A TELEGRAM FROM A. K. PAIKES AND A NOTE TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)

The rapid advance of the army demands the immediate organisation of Soviet institutions locally. The local comrades are unfamiliar with the development and policy of Soviet power and are not capable now of organising them. Contact with the centre being impossible, the absence of suitable leaders in the regions threatens a repetition of stages already passed and an irrational use of Siberia's natural wealth. It is essential to send responsible people immediately to the Siberian Revolutionary Committee for political leadership in the fields of Soviet construction and economy.

Paikes

Orgbureau
(to Stasova)

In my opinion, no more should be given to Siberia: we have none. Siberia will *not* perish. *Everything* to the Ukraine.

Lenin

Written in December, not earlier than 11 and not later than 16, 1919

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

481

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

15. XII.

Comrade Zinoviev,

I am sending you the decision of the Politbureau.

Two things:

1) Cannot 2 heavy sledges (Kegress sleigh-cars) and 2 light ones be ordered urgently for the Southern Front? *Urgent.* Reply.

2) Give special attention to the fuel shales near Yamburg. It is of prime importance to exert the utmost efforts.

3) Materials (barbed wire and so on) must *not* be squandered or pilfered.

They will be needed. Attend to it.

Greetings,

Lenin

I am writing the article. If I don't finish it today, don't wait.[308]

Written on December 15, 1919

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

482

TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV

By direct line

Smirnov
Revolutionary Military Council
Omsk

Congratulations on the capture of Novonikolayevsk.

See that the Kuznetsk area and coal are seized intact. Remember, it will be a crime to forge too far ahead in the East, when it is necessary with vigorous energy....*

Inform me of the hour of receipt of this telegram.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

15/XII.

Written on December 15, 1919
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the typewritten copy

483
TO L. B. KRASIN[309]

Send me tomorrow *one copy each* of the instructions and rules, forms of accounting, and other such publications
of the Commissariat for Railways,
of its Political Department,
of its Operational,
Technical,
Maintenance
departments (or boards),
scheme of organisation (if there is such a thing) of the Commissariat for Railways.

Written on December 17, 1919
First published on November 24, 1963, in *Pravda* No. 328
Printed from the original

484
TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)

Orgbureau

I propose either reprimanding the signatories to this paper (their names, 32 persons, can be learned from their previous paper)[310]

* The rest of the telegram has not been deciphered.—*Ed.*

or

reproving them for their gossip about the policy of the C.C., R.C.P., which is a violation of discipline and an obstacle to organised and harmonious work;

—for, without indicating anything concrete, these people are wasting valuable time and diverting attention from speediest departure to the Ukraine for work there.

The C.C. calls on them to cease their gossip and project-mongering and get down to work immediately, strictly carrying out the policy and instructions of the C.C., R.C.P.

Lenin

P.S. The signatories must be kept under supervision and distributed separately among *business-like* personnel. Otherwise there will be squabbling, and not work.

Written in December, not later than 18, 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

485
TO SH. Z. ELIAVA

19. XII. 1919

Comrade Eliava,

I recommend to you the bearer, Comrade P. N. Lepeshinsky,[311] whom I know from abroad, from the Geneva of 1902, where we fought together against the Mensheviks.

Comrade Lepeshinsky will undoubtedly assist in just the kind of work that should impress upon the indigenous population the idea and conviction that Soviet people cannot be imperialists, cannot even have imperialist ways of behaviour.

Greetings,

Yours,

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

486
TELEGRAM TO RYAZAN[312]

Top priority
Telegram to be handed to the duty commissar for immediate delivery. Delivery to be confirmed to Kremlin, Moscow

3 addresses:
Gubernia Party Committee, Gubernia Executive Committee, Gubernia Food Committee
Ryazan

Dear Comrades,

At your conference on December 19 you decided to dispatch 800 truck-loads of potatoes within ten days for Moscow workers and outlined a number of measures for carrying this out. A splendid idea, but the crux of the matter is how successfully and how quickly you will cope with the task you have set yourselves. The working class of Moscow is in the throes of starvation. Saving it means saving the revolution. The working class of Moscow has been bearing the brunt of the struggle against counter-revolution. The Red Army has defeated Kolchak and Yudenich, it is now Denikin's turn. To enable the Red Army, with the least expenditure of time and strength, to cope with this task, which will ensure the possibility of ending the war and beginning peaceful socialist construction, the Moscow worker has had to make yet another sacrifice. He has had to provide for operational needs the transport facilities which were intended for the carriage of food to Moscow. In these conditions, it is natural that localities surrounding the centre of world revolution should come to his aid. All Party and Soviet personnel should be imbued with the idea that the provisioning of Moscow, the salvation of its working class, is their sacred revolutionary duty. On your energy and determination depend the gains of the revolution. All for food procurement, all for work to load and dispatch the trucks. The dispatch and delivery of food trains to Moscow is the care of the People's Commissariat for Railways. Insistently demand fulfilment of this obli-

gation from the local bodies of the Commissariat for Railways. To work, comrades! For speedy, drastic, revolutionary aid to the Moscow workers!

With communist greetings,
V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

Written on December 21, 1919

First published in part in 1953 in the book: *Istoriko-krayevedchesky sbornik* ("*Uchoniye zapiski*" No. 11) (Historical Regional Studies (*Transactions* No. 11)), Ryazan

Published in full in 1957 in the book: *Borba za ustanovleniye i ukrepleniye Sovetskoi vlasti v Ryazanskoi gubernii (1917-1920)* (Struggle for the Establishment and Consolidation of Soviet Power in Ryazan Gubernia (1917-1920)), Moscow

Printed from the text of the telegraph tape

487

TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS[313]

1) A *short* time limit should be set for drafting the instruction.
2) It should be submitted to the Narrow Council, as the circular is badly drafted.
3) A report on the results of taking over churches for schools to be made in 3 months' time.

conditions of taking over and accounting?

Lenin

22/XII.

Written on December 22, 1919

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

488
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

23/XII.

Comrade Zinoviev,

Your letter of 20/XII received.

About Petrograd, arrange everything with Trotsky. It is evidently necessary to preserve and *restore* all defence installations (I hear they are already stealing barbed wire, etc.), and to devise a system of *weekly* mobilisations (either "alerts" or *musters*), in order to keep Petrograd in a state of preparedness. This must be carefully thought out.

Food supply is at a complete standstill because of transport. *Repairs to* **locomotives** *and trucks!!*

About shale, it is splendid that you have already started. But I was surprised at your writing about the transport of shale. Shale does not stand transport (unless it is for *gas*: shale is said to yield more gas than coal does), and electricity should be laid on locally and a distillation plant set up on the spot to obtain oil from shale. That is what I have been told here. And I thought that Petrograd with all its resources could cope both with the task of electrification and of distillation.

Greetings,
Lenin

N.B. Cannot blockhouses be erected for the defence of Petrograd? I am sending you and Trotsky a report on this subject.

Why are there not more sleigh-cars? There are said to be over 100 tracks?

Written on December 23, 1919

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

489
NOTE TO THE SECRETARY[314]

Put on the agenda of the Council of Defence and instruct Krasin (or Lomonosov) to *immediately* draft a decision

(on withdrawals from the army) and reach agreement with Sklyansky.

Written in December,
not earlier than 25, 1919

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

490

TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV[315]

26. XII. 1919

Smirnov
Revolutionary Military Council 5
Omsk or present whereabouts

Re your No. 4211: transfer not one hundred, but two hundred trains and locomotives. Rally all forces to expedite coal and relieve the railway, as well as to guard property against pilferage. Report fulfilment more frequently.

Lenin

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

491

TELEGRAM TO T. V. SAPRONOV

26. XII. 1919

Sapronov*
Gubernia Executive Committee or Gubernia Revolutionary Committee
Kharkov
Copy to Vladimirov, Chairman of the Special Food Commission of the Southern Front

The transport situation is so grave here that heroic efforts are needed both for deliveries of coal here and even more for stepping up repairs to locomotives. Put the best people on this, check personally, introduce a bonus in grain

* At the top of the manuscript, Lenin wrote: "top priority, by direct line. Inform me of the hour of *delivery to addressees in Kharkov. Lenin.*"—*Ed.*

for every locomotive repaired, restore the best repair-shops, introduce work in two and three shifts. Telegraph fulfilment.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

492

TO G. V. CHICHERIN

27. XII. 1919

Comrade Chicherin,

Your proposals have been adopted almost entirely by the Politbureau.[316] Regarding the exact text, phone the Secretary of the C.C., Comrade Krestinsky.

Please, never use the expression "Chairman of the C.C.", for *there is no such post*.

Greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

493

TO THE CENTRAL COLLEGIUM OF AGITATIONAL CENTRES

30. XII. 1919

Central Collegium of Agitational Centres[317]

I recommend the bearer, Comrade Maria Movshovich, whom I have known personally for many years, as a most loyal Party worker, and I earnestly request that she be treated with complete confidence and given every assistance, in particular that she be allowed just now ten days' leave of absence to restore her health.[318]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

1920

494
TO SOPHIA BRICHKINA[319]

Brichkina: that is not the way. It is not enough to send it to Tsyurupa. You must check and *write down* what reply *has been sent* and *when*.

Written early in January 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

495
NOTE TO THE SECRETARY[320]

Send copies

1) to the Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs

2) to the Commissariat for Railways, and inform them by telephone that today in the Council of Defence (2/I. 1920) we shall raise the question of *military* accountancy: let them be prepared.

Lenin

Written on January 2, 1920

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

496

TO THE PODOLSK UYEZD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Uyezd Executive Committee
Podolsk
Copy to Moscow Gubernia Executive Committee

In the village of Alexandrovo, Podolsk Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia, a certain *Teryokhin*, in the name of the Young Communist League, contrary to the direct instruction of the People's Commissariat for Education, has occupied a lace-making school, arrested a schoolmistress, and removed some of the property. Immediately vacate the school premises, return the articles taken both from the school and the teachers, and make it possible for the teachers to work in peace. Investigate Teryokhin's illegal actions with a view to his prosecution,

Report fulfilment.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

2/I. 20

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from
the typewritten copy

497

TO G. V. CHICHERIN

4/I. 1920

Comrade Chicherin,

Please forward to Litvinov (and if possible, transmit in abridged form by telegraph in code):

I have received from him a small batch of pamphlets and newspapers and am extremely disappointed. The selection has been utterly casual and careless. Obviously, no one has shown the slightest care in such an important matter as supplying Russia with Western socialist literature.

There are no pamphlets and books by the socialist leaders (although their titles and the names of the authors can be found in the Austrian, German, French, Italian and English newspapers).

The newspapers have been so poorly selected that 9/10 of them is rubbish, while, for example, out of a heap of issues of *Freiheit*,[321] the really important issues (even the *most* important, perhaps the only important ones) have been *left out*, namely, the reports of the Leipzig Congress[322] and the text of the resolutions.

Absolute carelessness, negligence or lack of understanding and unwillingness to understand what is needed.

We must have them (Litvinov and *all* members of the R.C.P. abroad and all "bureaux" and agencies) see to it that people conversant with the literature are *engaged* in *each* country (to begin with, Denmark, Holland, etc., will suffice), their *duty* being to collect 4-5 copies of *every* socialist and anarchist and communist pamphlet and book, *every* resolution, *all reports* and **minutes** of congresses, etc., etc., *in all languages*. All to be delivered to Copenhagen, Stockholm, Vienna, etc. (to Berlin as well). Messengers are available—infrequently, but they are available. The literature must be collected in good time by *employed* persons (Russians are slovenly and will *never* do this meticulously).

N.B. N.B.

It is stupid to grudge money for this.

Ask Litvinov to tell this to

Abramovich
Kopp
Rutgers
Bronsky
Lyubarsky
Reich
Ström
Z. Höglund
Kilbom
Rothstein, etc.

Have 3-5 and more collectors, otherwise we shall never get what is absolutely necessary.

Lenin

P.S. Please send a copy of this (or this letter itself after it has been dealt with) to Klinger.

First published in part in 1961 in the book: *Biblioteka V. I. Lenina v Kremle* (Lenin's Library in the Kremlin)
Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51
Printed from the original

498

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

4. I. 1920

Dear V. D.,

#

I am paying *personally* for my library.

When you are well again, please pay everything

3,200
+ 500 (Dahl)
3,700, etc.

and *keep the receipts*.

Yours,
Lenin

I enclose 4,000 rubles.

#

The library of the C.P.C.'s *Managing Department* is another matter.

First published in 1926 in the journal *Ogonyok* No. 13
Printed from the original

499

TO A. I. SVIDERSKY[323]

Comrade Svidersky,

Receive the comrades *without fail* or ask another member of the Board to do so, and *be sure* to inform me of your decision.

Lenin

5/I. 1920

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*
Printed from the original

500

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)[324]

Members of the Politbureau

I voted against this decision of the C.P.C., but I consider it inconvenient to rescind it at once.

I propose, without calling together the Politbureau, to collect the votes of its members. My proposal: to get an immediate decision of the C.P.C. that the State Control is obliged to let the Food Commissariat know about every such case. In a month or so we shall see.

Lenin

Written in January, not earlier than 5 and not later than 23, 1920

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

501

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 3rd ARMY[325]

12. I. 1920

R.M.C. of the 3rd Army

I fully approve your proposals. I welcome the initiative. Am submitting the question to the Council of People's Commissars. Start on the job, on condition of the strictest co-ordination with the civil authorities, and devote all energies to the collection of all food surpluses and the restoration of transport.

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

502

TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV

Top priority
By direct line
12. I. 1920

Smirnov
Revolutionary Military Council 5

1) R.M.C. 3 proposes converting the 3rd Army into labour army for economic revival of the Urals, Chelyabinsk and Tobolsk gubernias. I am in full sympathy with this and shall put it before the Council of People's Commissars. tomorrow. Please give your opinion.

2) I am deeply concerned about the delay in delivering here 200 locomotives with food trains. The most urgent revolutionary measures must be taken to hasten this. See to prompt unconditional execution.

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

503

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE C.P.C.

The question raised by R.M.C. 3 is of the greatest importance. I am putting it before the C.P.C. on 13. I. 1920, and I ask the departments concerned to have their opinions ready by that date.

I think that on 13.I in the C.P.C. we should

first, approve this in principle,

second, give it the widest publicity for encouragement,

third, endorse *the basic principles* of its organisation, or, if this cannot be done at once, elect a workmanlike commission to draft these principles as a matter of urgency.

Lenin

12. I. 1920

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

504

UNDERLININGS AND AN INSTRUCTION ON S. I. SYRTSOV'S TELEGRAM

Lenin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

The position in the Don as regards food organisation is impossible. The Don food agencies have been set up on paper, but the appointed food officials are working in the Tambov and Saratov gubernias, and not where they should be. The district food agencies, set up in amateur fashion and not connected with the Don Executive Committee, are receiving no directives and instructions, and for that reason are not capable of working, and cannot counteract the army food agents who frequently commit outrageous excesses.

Syrtsov
Deputy Chairman, Don Executive Committee

Tsyurupa and Sereda:

Your comments?
N.B. || Seed is badly needed for sowing!![326]

Written in January, not earlier than 13 and not later than 15, 1920
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

505

TO THE CHIEF COAL COMMITTEE[327]

For *urgent* reply: 1) is this known?
2) what exactly is known?
3) is there literature about this coal?
4) *what has been done?*
5) what is being done?

Lenin

14/I.

Written on January 14, 1920
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*
Printed from the original

506

TO M. N. POKROVSKY

15. I. 1920

Deputy People's, Commissar for Education

Please issue orders for our state libraries (the Rumyantsev Museum, the Petrograd Public Library, and others) immediately to begin collecting and keeping *all whiteguard* newspapers (Russian and foreign). Please give me a draft of the order prescribing that all *military* and civil authorities are to collect and hand over these newspapers to the state libraries.[328]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

P.S. Perhaps you would find it appropriate in these orders (or better separately?) to order and check on the collection of *complete sets* of our newspapers since 1917.

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

507

TO THE CHIEF OIL COMMITTEE OF THE SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL

I enclose a cutting from *Izvestia* No. 8 (855) for 14/I. 20, and ask to be informed whether you are aware of the facts stated in this paragraph,[329] and how far the figures given in it may be regarded as trustworthy. What practical measures are being taken in this connection?*

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on January 15, 1920

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the typewritten text, added to and signed by Lenin

* This sentence is in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

508
TELEGRAM TO K. G. MYASKOV

Myaskov
Gubernia Food Commissar
Samara
Copy to Muss, Co-operative Department
Copy to the Gubernia Committee of the Communist Party

For the amount of friction and misunderstanding with the co-operatives, Samara holds first place. I am surprised that implementation of the decree of March 20 has not yet been arranged. I order strict adherence to the instructions of the People's Commissariat for Food. Report what has been obstructing your work, who instituted the commission which dismissed Chairman Mikhailov and other co-operators and on what grounds it is operating. Instead of fighting individuals, to the annoyance of the co-operative movement, concentrate efforts on political preparation for the new elections.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on January 15, 1920
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the typewritten text signed by Lenin

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

509
POSTSCRIPT TO L. D. TROTSKY'S TELEGRAM[330]

I request Comrade Frunze, in accordance with Trotsky's directives, to develop revolutionary energy for maximum acceleration of the construction of the railway and dispatch of oil. Confirm receipt.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on January 17, 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

510

NOTE TO THE SECRETARY

Please telephone Markov and tell him that **I strongly** support Semashko's request.[331]

Lenin

18/I.

Written on January 18, 1920
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*
Printed from the original

511

TO L. B. KAMENEV

If that is how the question is put, then dictate to your secretary a protest against the Narrow Council and a draft decree for the Full Council (that the Narrow Council should not interfere in local affairs without special reasons and is **always** obliged to *make inquiries* from local Soviets except in cases of extreme urgency).[332]

Written on January 20, 1920
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*
Printed from the original

512

TELEGRAM TO H. Y. YUMAGULOV[333]

Yumagulov
Ufa
Copies to Eltsin, Ufa
and to Artyom Sergeyev, Bashkir Revolutionary Committee, Bashkir Regional Committee, Sterlitamak

In stating in the telegram that "The All-Russia Central Executive Committee considers it improbable and quite out of the question that Artyom, Samoilov and Preobrazhensky could carry on agitation against the Bashkir Republic", the All-Russia C.E.C. thereby again confirmed the necessity of their most loyal observance of the Bashkir Constitution.

The telegram of the Central Committee sent later to Comrade Artyom had the same aim. Under these circumstances I am quite sure that Artyom, Preobrazhensky and Samoilov will give no real cause for complications. The members of the Bashkir Revolutionary Committee should act in the same way. Only from your telegram did I learn that Comrades Shamigulov, Izmailov and others were deported from Bashkiria by the Bashkir Revolutionary Committee; the Central Committee thought they were travelling to Moscow on their own initiative to make a report, considered it unnecessary for the five comrades to waste time on the journey and sent them back to Sterlitamak.

Your attempt to deport old Party comrades from Bashkiria, the absurd reference to their Bukharinist orientation, the persistent, though incorrect, application of the epithet "Ukrainians" to Preobrazhensky, Artyom and Samoilov—give me grounds for doubting your objectivity in this matter. Therefore I order you immediately to fulfil the telegram from the All-Russia C.E.C. of 20.I, which is still unfulfilled as regards cancellation of the conspiracy report.

On behalf of the Politbureau of the C.C.,
*Lenin**

Written in January, after 20, 1920

First published in 1959 in the book: *Obrazovaniye Bashkirskoi ASSR* (The Formation of the Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic), Ufa

Printed from the text in Krestinsky's handwriting and signed by Lenin

513

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 5th ARMY

R.M.C. 5

I approve your proposal in regard to a buffer state.[334] Only it is essential to lay down firmly that our represent-

* The words "On behalf of the Politbureau of the C.C., *Lenin*" are in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

ative, or preferably two representatives, at the Political Centre should be informed of all decisions and have the right to attend all conferences of the Political Centre.

Second—serious measures of control should be taken over the disarming of the Czechoslovaks.[335]

Third—it will be very difficult for us for transport reasons to move the Czechoslovaks out.

*Lenin**
Chairman, Council of Defence

January 21, 1920

First published in part in 1958 in the book: V. T. Agalakov, *Iz istorii stroitelstva Sovetskoi vlasti v Vostochnoi Sibiri. 1919-1921* (From the History of the building of Soviet Power in Eastern Siberia, 1919-1921)

Published in full in 1960 in the book: *Irkutskaya partiinaya organizatsiya v vosstanovitelny period (1920-1926)* (The Irkutsk Party Organisation of the Restoration Period (1920-1926)

Printed from the typewritten copy

514

TO N. N. KRESTINSKY

Larin is to be forbidden project-mongering. *Rykov* to be *warned*: curb Larin, otherwise *you* will get it hot.[336]

Written in January, not later than 23, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

* The telegram was signed also by L. D. Trotsky, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council.—*Ed.*

515

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 1st LABOUR ARMY

Revolutionary Council of Labour Army 1, copy to Yermakov, Uposkom, Ekaterinburg*

In reply to Yermakov's telegram No. 25 concerning the existence of a huge number of all kinds of commissions, organisations and authorised agents engaged in organising fuel procurement—of military commissions alone there are as many as twelve plus the Ekaterinburg military district commission, the Ufa front-line commission, etc., newly set up by order of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic—the Council of Defence decided: to instruct the Revolutionary Council of the Labour Army to settle the questions raised in the telegram in a way which will restore the greatest possible unity and co-ordination in the work of cutting, sawing, transporting and floating firewood, with the gubleskom and zheleskom** retaining the leading role.[337]

Report decisions and measures adopted.***

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

Written in January 23, 1920

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the typewritten text, added to and signed by Lenin

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* Authorised agent of the Special Committee of the Council of Defence for introducing martial law on the railways and promoting fuel supplies.—*Ed.*

** Gubleskom and zheleskom—Gubernia Timber Committee and Railway Timber Committee.—*Ed.*

*** The last sentence is in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

516

TO THE RUSSIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY[338]

Forward it to ROSTA:

1) for information and guidance;

2) investigate who issued the "Zatonsky" idiocy, and impose a measure of punishment on this person;

3) report to me fulfilment, and

4) the measures taken to prevent such "unfortunate" occurrences in future.

Lenin

27/I.

Written in January 27, 1920

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

517

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH*

Comrade V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich,

The State Publishers may be offended that I did not and Krzhizhanovsky's pamphlet through them?[339] Perhaps I broke the rules? I was in a great hurry.

If it is inconvenient for you to settle the matter otherwise, would you send this note of mine to Comrade Vorovsky (I ask him to have a paper issued by the State Publishers ordering the speediest, by Sunday 1.II, publication of Krzhizhanovsky's pamphlet at the 17th Print-shop, formerly Kushnerev's, and I apologise for having sent the pamphlet direct to the press because I was in a great hurry).

Perhaps this has already been done? If not, *it must be done*. Give me your reply.

Yours,
Lenin

Written at the end of January 1920

First published in 1930 in the book: Vladimir Bonch-Bruyevich, *Na boyevykh postakh Fevralskoi i Oktyabrskoi revolyutsii*, Moscow

Printed from the original

* On the envelope Lenin wrote: "V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich. ((If at home wait for an answer.)) (from Lenin) (to be signed for)."—*Ed.*

518

TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NIZHNI-NOVGOROD GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Chairman, Gubernia E.C.
Nizhni-Novgorod
Copy to the Assistant Manager of the Radio Laboratory

In view of the special importance of the tasks confronting the Radio Laboratory and the important successes it has achieved, give it the most effective assistance and support in facilitating conditions of work and removing obstacles.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on February 5, 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the typewritten text signed by Lenin

519

TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NIZHNI-NOVGOROD CHEKA

Chairman of the Cheka
Nizhni-Novgorod
Copy to the Assistant Manager of the Radio Laboratory
Copy to Dzerzhinsky, Vecheka, Moscow

In view of the urgent and particularly important work of the Radio Laboratory, release Shorin immediately on a surety from its collegium and committee, without discontinuing the investigation into Shorin's case.[340]

*Lenin**
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on February 5, 1920

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the typewritten text, added to and signed by Lenin

* The words "Copy to Dzerzhinsky, Vecheka, Moscow", "release ... immediately", "without discontinuing the investigation into Shorin's case", and the signature, are in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

520

TELEGRAM TO S. T. KOVYLKIN

By direct line
7. II. 1920

Kovylkin
Saratov

Your resignation unacceptable. You must learn to work together with Arzhanov at all costs. This is possible if you won't be obstinate. Report the slightest friction to me. Arzhanov is appointed temporarily.[341]

Lenin

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

521

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE LABOUR ARMY

10. II. 1920

R.M.C. of the Labour Army
Ekaterinburg

I am putting your inquiries before the Council of Defence. Trotsky has left to join you. Personally I fear that you are indulging in project-mongering, and that Bumazhny's and Maximov's opposition is a play at departmental game. I advise you not to engage in recriminations but to throw all forces into the main thing, viz.: 1) the restoration of railway transport, 2) the collection and delivery of food, 3) the delivery of firewood, timber and barges to landing-stages. Let me know whether you can carry out this work harmoniously, energetically and rapidly.[342]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

522

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

To be handed to the duty commissar for immediate, priority transmission
Notify Kremlin, Moscow, of delivery

Stalin
Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee
Kharkov

I am still hopeful that after your talks with Tukhachevsky and the removal of Sokolnikov, things will adjust themselves without your transference. Therefore, for the time being, we are not notifying Smilga. Be sure to inform me in good time and in detail by code or by telephone from Kharkov. I consider it most important that the troops disengaged after the capture of Odessa should not be kept on the Dniester, but moved to the Western Front as a safeguard against the Poles. Let me know your opinion.

Lenin

Written on February 10, 1920

First published in part in 1929 in the book: K. Y. Voroshilov, *Stalin i Krasnaya Armia* (Stalin and the Red Army), Moscow-Leningrad

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the decoded text of the telegraph tape

523

TO S. P. SEREDA AND A. D. TSYURUPA

14. II. 1920

Comrades Sereda
and Tsyurupa
Copies to the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions
Commissariat for State Control
Commissariat for Trade
Supreme Economic Council

I draw special attention to the very sensible article "Lose No Time" by Y. Preobrazhensky in *Pravda* of 11.II.

It is essential to adopt his proposal[343] and immediately
1) draft a decree
   a) on the *obligatory* organisation of urban farming (in all towns);
   b) on measures of stimulation and development;
   c) *assignments* (as detailed as possible) to be given in this field for the year 1920, etc.;
2) step up purchases of seed in Denmark and *abroad* in general;
3) step up agitation *and workers' control* over the measures in §1.

Please send me a *brief* summary of what is *already being done* (if possible one that would be suitable also for the press—we shall publish it in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, if it is not possible to do so in *Pravda* or *Izvestia*).

In this connection, it is necessary to begin an intensified and more systematic struggle against suburban bag-trading by drawing urban workers into the business of keeping an account (detailed) of crops, stocks, surpluses, collection of food products in suburban districts, and helping their procurement by the Food Commissariat agencies. I request the Food Commissariat to let me know what measures are being taken.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

524

TELEGRAM
TO I. T. SMILGA AND G. K. ORJONIKIDZE

All in code

Smilga and Orjonikidze

Am deeply concerned about the state of our troops on the Caucasian Front, the complete demoralisation among Budyonny's forces, the weakening of all our troops, the weakness of the general command, the discord between the armies, the strengthening of the enemy.[344] It is essential to exert

all efforts and put through a number of emergency measures with revolutionary energy. Telegraph fully in code what exactly you are undertaking.

Lenin

Written on February 17, 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

525

TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY

In code

Trotsky
Copy to *Smirnov*, R.M.C. 5
also *in code*

I fully support your reply to Smirnov. We must vehemently denounce the opponents of a buffer state[345] (it seems that Frumkin is such an opponent), threaten to bring them before a Party court, and demand that everyone in Siberia carry out the slogan: "not a step farther east, all-out efforts to hasten the movement of troops and locomotives to the west, to Russia". We would be idiots to allow ourselves to be drawn into a stupid movement into the heart of Siberia, permitting Denikin meanwhile to revive and the Poles to strike. It would be a crime.

Lenin

Written on February 19, 1920
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

526

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, C.C., R.C.P.(B.)[346]

Krestinsky and L. B. Kamenev

To the members of the Politbureau:

I am against summoning Stalin. He is cavilling. The Commander-in-Chief is quite right: first of all we must defeat Denikin, then pass to a state of peace.

I suggest replying to Stalin: "The Politbureau cannot summon you at present, as it considers that the most important and urgent task is to achieve final victory over Denikin, for which you must step up reinforcements to the Caucasian Front with the utmost energy."

Lenin

Written on February 19, 1920
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

527
TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN*

Stepping up the movement of reinforcements from the South-Western Front to the Caucasian Front is your concern. It is necessary in general to help in every way and not wrangle about departmental competences.[347]

Lenin

Written on February 19, 1920
Printed from the original

528
TELEGRAM TO D. Z. MANUILSKY

Manuilsky
Headquarters of the South-Western Front
Kharkov

Sapronov is wrong, because before focussing on the middle peasant it is necessary first, before that, to organise the poor peasants. This must definitely be done, and best done not in the form of Poor Peasants' Committees, but in the form of Soviets composed exclusively of poor and middle peasants, with special measures on our part for safeguarding the interests of the poor peasants and for collection of grain. I asked you about transport since the chief task now is to step up the transport of troops

* Transmitted in code by direct line.—*Ed.*

and complete the defeat of Denikin. We must mobilise the workers for this and at all costs bring up large forces quickly and win back Rostov. I ask Stalin to reply to me whether he is taking all measures.

Lenin

Written on February 22, 1920

First published in 1957 in the book: V. I. Lenin, *Ob Ukraine* (On the Ukraine), Kiev

Printed from the text of the telegraph form

529

TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY

23. II. 1920

Rakovsky, Chairman, Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine
Kharkov

The decision of the III International* will be finally edited tomorrow evening and sent to you on Wednesday. I have just spoken with Tsyurupa about the three-dessiatine norm, but so far we have failed to convince each other. Tomorrow I hope we shall arrive at a decision.

Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

530

INSTRUCTION ON ZALYGIN'S TELEGRAM

Urgent

Comrade Lenin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars
Moscow

Simakov, Chairman of the Bolkhov Uyezd Party Committee, was married in church to the daughter of a capitalist hostage. At a gener-

* This evidently refers to the resolution of the Comintern Executive Committee on the Borotbists (see *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 40, p. 159).—*Ed.*

al meeting of the Communists of the Bolkhov organisation I proposed that for undermining Party principles Chairman Simakov should be expelled from the Party. The proposal was adopted and Simakov was expelled from the Party. Some members of the Party Committee adhered to their own opinion and called in Comrade Pakun, representative of the Orel Gubernia Committee. The decision of the meeting was annulled. For putting forward my proposal I was arrested a few days later and am now in prison. I ask for your assistance.

Zalygin
Head of the Uyezd Department
of Education

The arrested man to be released at once. An explanation giving reasons for the arrest to be sent by telegraph and all the case papers to be mailed to the Central Committee.

Written in February,
not earlier than 24, 1920

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

531

TELEGRAM TO THE SAMARA AND SARATOV GUBERNIA PARTY COMMITTEES AND GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES

Gubernia Committee of the R.C.P.
Gubernia Executive Committee
Avksentyevsky, Deputy Commander of the Turkestan Front
Samara
Gubernia Committee of the R.C.P.
Gubernia Executive Committee
Budassi, builder of the Emba railway
Saratov

Construction of the railway and oil pipeline to the Emba is of the greatest importance. It is necessary to assist it with the utmost energy and expedite the work in every way. Organise agitation, set up a permanent promotion commission, introduce labour conscription; everything by

agreement with Budassi, who is building the railway. Telegraph fulfilment regularly.[348]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on February 25, 1920
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*
Printed from the original

532

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOOD

25. II. 1920

The Ukhtomsky (Lyubertsy) Works of Moscow Gubernia, Moscow Uyezd, an agricultural machinery plant, has coal and materials and the workers (1,300 employees) *have not dispersed*. It would be *particularly* important to support such a factory.

Please discuss urgently whether the workers of this factory can be given food assistance as a special measure.

Please telephone your reply to me.[349]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*
Printed from the original

533

TO V. N. LOBOVA, A. Y. MINKIN, Y. M. YAROSLAVSKY[350]

26. II. 1920

Comrades Lobova
Minkin
Y. Yaroslavsky
and if they are not in Perm, then to other members of the Perm Gubernia Committee of the R.C.P.

The bearers, Comrades
Fyodor Samsonovich Sannikov,
Grigory Ivanovich Mikhalev,
Platon Pavlovich Moskalyov,
came to me from Kalinin.

They are non-Party people, but create an impression of remarkable conscientiousness.

They are requesting re-registration and checking of the members of the Uyezd Party Committee (they are from Perm Gubernia, Usolye Uyezd, Polovodovo Volost) on the plea that there are many of the *worst* elements in the local Party.

Will you please fulfil their request.

Let me know the results of the check-up.

Give me the names of those members of the Uyezd Party Committee (in Usolye and in the volosts of Usolye Uyezd) who are *personally* known to you and are absolutely reliable.

With communist greetings,

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

Sent to Perm

First published (in facsimile) on November 24, 1929, in *Pravda* No. 274

Printed from the original

534

TELEGRAM TO F. F. RASKOLNIKOV

27. II. 1920

Fleet Commander Raskolnikov
Astrakhan
Copy to Kirov, R.M.C. 11
Copy to the Astrakhan Gubernia Committee of the R.C.P.

Every effort must be made, without losing a single hour, and taking the maximum precautions, to transport all the oil from Guriev at first open water. Reply immediately whether all measures have been taken, how prepared you are, what are the prospects, whether the best people have been appointed, and who is responsible for ensuring safe transport by sea.

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

535

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF THE FOOD COMMISSARIAT

27. II. 1920

Comrade Vinogradov, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Vesyegonsk Teachers' Union, has presented the attached petition.[351]

The crux of the matter is that the Vesyegonsk Uyezd Food Committee be *instructed* to issue to the teachers (about 500 in the uyezd) an increased ration of bread and potatoes plus footwear or leather.

Both from local stocks—the *uyezd has* surpluses.

Please make the necessary inquiries *today* (the comrade has to leave tomorrow) and give me a reply by telephone (in the evening *we shall decide* the matter in the Council of Defence).

Lenin

First published in 1924 in the book: A. Vinogradov, *Iz vospominanii o V. I. Lenine* (From Recollections of V. I. Lenin), Vesyegonsk

Printed from the original

536

TO K. A. ALFEROV

Comrade Alferov,

Lomonosov, before his departure, had told me *everything* had been done for the oil pipeline.

Clearly we have here sabotage or slovenliness, for information is *utterly confusing*.

Send me without fail *not later than 11 a.m. next Tuesday* 1) a short, extremely brief, report on (a) what has been ordered and (b) what has been done.

2) The name, patronymic and surname of *each* responsible person.

Lenin

27.II

(P.S. In reply to your note of 27.II.)[352]

Written on February 27, 1920
First published on April 22, 1926, in *Pravda* No. 92

Printed from the original collated with the typewritten text, signed and added to by Lenin

537
TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

28. II 1920

Zinoviev
Petrograd

Pokrovsky tells me that the library of the former Free Economic Society[353] is being pilfered and books are even being burned. I emphatically request you to verify this, put a stop to the scandal, and let me have the name of the responsible local inspector. Have him send me without delay an official telegram re fulfilment.

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

538
TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

Stalin, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the South-Western Front

The Central Committee confirms its decision on the need to assign responsible political workers from the armies of the South-Western Front for transport work. The C.C. considers the transfer of responsible workers from the armies to the railways to be the most important guarantee for the salvation of transport. Even the Caucasian Front

has provided the whole apparatus of the 2nd Army and 100 political workers for work on the railways of the South-East. Telegraph the number and duties of those assigned.

Lenin

Written on February 28, 1920
First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the text of the telegraph form signed by Lenin

539

TO L. B. KAMENEV[354]

I think you should "wear them out" with *practical* assignments:

Dan—*sanitary inspection*,
Martov—control over *dining-rooms*.

Written at the end of February-beginning of March 1920
First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

540

TO L. B. KRASIN

Would it be too much bother to order for me a similar map as of 1.III.1920

showing

railways under construction
+(α) track laid
(β) other stages of commencement (or progress) of construction.

Written in 1920,
not earlier than March 1
First published in part
on April 18, 1963,
in *Izvestia* No. 93
Published in full in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

541

FOR LANSBURY

In a conversation with Comrade Lansbury I promised to write about our attitude to religion.[355] Comrade Krasikov has done this much better than I could have done, the more so since Comrade Krasikov is specially in charge of these affairs.

Lenin

2/III

Written on March 2, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

542

TELEGRAM TO I. T. SMILGA AND G. K. ORJONIKIDZE

In code
3. III. 1920

Smilga and Orjonikidze
R.M.C., Caucasian Front

It is extremely important for you to work harmoniously with Ksandrov, who has been sent to the Donets Basin with special powers. Regarding coal, telegraph how matters stand. Is the rumour about Peters having been killed by the Denikinites in Rostov true? What in general is the military situation?

Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

543
TELEGRAM TO N. N. KUZMIN

In code
By direct line

Comrade Kuzmin, member of R.M.C. 6

Re No. 95.

Exercise the utmost caution and distrust in this matter.[356] Mind you are not fooled by officers who want to infiltrate among us in order to demoralise the army. Make thorough inquiries about everyone wishing to return and if you are convinced that his return will be useful, inform Moscow to obtain permission. Discuss this question with Lomov's commission,[357] which has gone to Archangel. Report the views expressed in the discussion.

Re No. 82.

Chicherin's statement about leaving the country stipulated the surrender of the White government, but it has fled. For the time being, do not permit anyone to go abroad. Employ the arrested officers on work. Use those who have remained at liberty for the same purpose. Sklyansky's telegram No. 49/III about sending some of them to the centre holds good. Discuss the question with Lomov's commission.

Lenin

Written on March 5, 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the text in Sklyansky's handwriting

544
TO S. Y. CHUTSKAYEV

5/III.

Comrade Chutskayev,

Especially urgent measures must be adopted to *speed up* the sorting of valuables.[358] If we are too late, they will give nothing for them in Europe and America.

In Moscow, *a thousand* Party members, etc., can (*and should*) be mobilised for this work under special control.

At your end, evidently, the whole business is *dragging woefully*.

Write what **extraordinary** measures you are taking to speed things up.

Lenin

Written on March 5, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51
Printed from the original

545

TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY[359]

*In code**

Trotsky

If grain and timber procurement has risen, special efforts must be devoted to barges and preparations for floating, especially barges for oil, then to building houses for the Chelyabinsk and other coal workers. Cannot the Siberian prisoners of war and officers be moved to the Urals and set to work on coal and timber?

To expedite replies from the centre, obtain direct lines through the military department.

Krestinsky has replied to you. I repeat in brief. The Ishim remains in Tyumen Gubernia. You can keep Brunovsky. About meat, an order to organise salting centres has been given.

Regarding regional centres, it is necessary to tread warily and think it over carefully, so as to avoid regionalism.

If troop formation in Siberia has been overdone you should check yourself what real measures are being taken to combat this, summoning to the direct line anyone you require.

Smirnov must be taken off diplomatic, frontier and military affairs and returned to peace-time work.

Lenin

Written on March 7, 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

* Transmitted by direct line.—*Ed.*

546
TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY

Via the *military*
by army line
In C.C. code

Trotsky

The Poles are advancing further, we have evacuated Rechitsa. Gomel is said to be threatened, therefore, despite Stalin's optimism, I consider essential and urgently necessary all the extraordinary measures you have proposed. In regard to the Commissariat for Railways, the Politbureau has decided to propose making you People's Commissar for Railways, since Krasin will be going abroad in a week, and Lomonosov, after typhus, will have recovered only in six weeks' time.[360] Reply immediately.

Lenin

Written in March, not earlier than 8 and not later than 20, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

547
TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV[361]

No terms whatever with Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks: either they submit to us unconditionally or they will be arrested.*

Written on March 9, 1920

First published in 1938 in *Bolshevik* No. 2

Printed from the original

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* In the typewritten copy of the telegram this is followed by the words: "On behalf of the Politbureau, *Lenin*."—*Ed.*

548

TELEGRAM TO A. LOMOV

9. III. 1920

Lomov, member of the Board, Supreme Economic Council
Archangel

Try to search out, or get someone to search out, press materials and reports about the oil-bearing district of the river Ukhta in the museum of the Society for the Study of the Northern Territory and in the Management Board of State Properties.

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

549

INSTRUCTION TO PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIATS[362]

10. III. 1920

In view of the catastrophically serious food position of the workers of Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia, please organise for today a meeting of representatives of the

Food Commissariat
Commissariat for Agriculture
Commissariat for Railways
Chief Board of Water Transport
Central Committee of Textile Industry
Commissariat for Labour.

Comrade *Kiselyov*, member of the Presidium of the C.E.C., has agreed to convene the commission.

The commission's terms of reference: to discuss the proposals of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia Party Committee dated 6/III and to work out *emergency* relief measures. Report on fulfilment to be given to the C.P.C. by Saturday.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

550

TO THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)[363]

To the *Politbureau* (or Orgbureau): this incident should be **seized** at to make a thoroughgoing investigation, enlisting **Dzerzhinsky's** assistance, find the "sister" the Menshevik writes about, and **purge** Karakhan's office.

Lenin

11/III.

Written on March 11, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

551

TELEGRAM TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT*

In code
11. III. 1920

Unschlicht
R.M.C., Western Front

Evidently the Poles will fight. We are doing everything possible to strengthen defence. Agitation in the Polish language must also be intensified to the utmost. We shall help you, if necessary, with people, money, and paper.

Lenin

First published (in facsimile) in 1930 in the book *Grazhdanskaya voina. 1918-1921*, Vol. III

Printed from the original

* Transmitted by direct line.—*Ed.*

552

TELEGRAM
TO F. F. RASKOLNIKOV AND S. M. KIROV*

In code
14. III. 1920

Raskolnikov and Kirov
Fleet Command
Astrakhan

Your plans are based on deep water shipment, but Babkin proposes that the oil be transported by way of Belinskaya Bank, in shallow water off shore, so that the enemy fleet can neither capture nor sink it. With a draught of from 4 to 5 quarters he names as suitable the steamships *Jambai*, *Ukno*, *Ratmir*, *Lev*, *Neva*, *Lyubimy*, *Kirghiz*, *Alexander*, and the barges *Pluto*, *Apollo*, *Medusa*, *Rusalka*, *Valeria*, *Stephania* and others. Pumping over at Belinskaya Bank. He believes that in this way it is possible to transport 320,000 in one trip and 1,600,000 a month. Report your opinion.

Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

553

TELEGRAM
TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE ALL-UKRAINE CONFERENCE OF BOROTBISTS[364]

16. III. 1920

Rakovsky, Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars, for Blakitny, Presidium of the All-Ukraine Conference of Borotbists
Kharkov

I thank you for the greetings from the bottom of my heart. Warmest wishes for the success of the conference, particularly for the success of the work that has been begun for merging with the Party of Bolsheviks.

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

* At the top of the manuscript Lenin wrote: "After coding return to me. *Lenin*."—*Ed.*

554

TO L. B. KRASIN[365]

Why should you not submit a separate decree for calling in *experts* (electricians) from abroad and allocating 500,000 rubles for this purpose? It would be *effective* (and politically *useful*).

Written on March 16, 1920

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV* — Printed from the original

555

TO L. B. KRASIN[366]

You are making a mistake in "*going out*" for "something big" and overlooking the small. Go after the little bird. There are small firms outside the trusts. These firms can make (sometimes sell) spare parts and the like.

Written in March, after 16, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51 — Printed from the original

556

TO AN UNIDENTIFIED ADDRESSEE

There is something we failed to do as regards locomotive repairs.

What about a commission of Central Committee men to hustle things and check up?

Or reports once a week?

Or something else?

Who is keeping an eye on this? Who is pushing things? *No one.*

Who has selected the best repair-shops? What results are there from the 200-pood bonus per locomotive?

What about putting *Rozengolts personally* in charge of this, perhaps plus someone else?

We've passed a decree and gone to sleep....[367]

Written after March 16, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51 — Printed from the original

557

TELEGRAM TO MAXIM GORKY[368]

Gorky
Petrograd

In reply to your letter of 5/III, I quote the text of the telegram which the People's Commissariat for Food sent to Badayev: "Pending final settlement by a special commission of the Council of People's Commissars of the question of improving the position of scientists, you are instructed to continue supplies according to the plan previously adopted by you, i.e., without making a reduction in keeping with recent orders of the People's Commissariat for Food." Pokrovsky's commission is appealing against the Petrograd list as being unfair. Sapozhnikov was released on 9/III. Manukhin has to present to Semashko, People's Commissar for Health, a description of the method of the proposed research, on the results of the examination of which the decision depends.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on March 19, 1920
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the text in Fotieva's handwriting signed by Lenin

558

TELEGRAM TO B. I. GOLDBERG

Comrade *Goldberg*
Revolutionary Military Council of the Reserve Army

The Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defence sends comradely thanks on behalf of Soviet power to all the workers, Red Army men, technical and administrative personnel, who worked to restore the bridge over the Kama at Sarapul, finishing it one month ahead of the scheduled time, thereby giving fresh proof of what the proletariat can achieve by organisation, energy and labour discipline, given a class-conscious attitude, so essential at the present time,

towards the common tasks confronting the Russian Soviet Republic in its efforts to cope with the economic dislocation.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on March 20, 1920
First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from
the typewritten text
signed by Lenin

559

TO KARL RADEK[369]

Comrade Radek,

Your opinion? Return this with a line or two. Do you know *exactly* the position of K. Liebknecht's family? Is assistance needed and to what extent?

Lenin

Written in March
not earlier than 23, 1920

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

560

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO J. V. STALIN

Comrade Stalin
Copy to Comrade Rakovsky

In view of the fact that 13 delegates from each trend were elected at the congress., that 105 delegates took no part in the elections to the Central Committee and 8 abstained, the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P. has resolved, as a way out of the abnormal situation, to set up a temporary bureau of two representatives each from the old C.C. and the new. Comrade Shumsky, a former Borotbist, to be appointed the fifth member of the bureau.[370]

On behalf of the Politbureau,
Lenin

Written on March 24, 1920
First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from
the handwritten copy

561

TELEGRAM TO A. Y. SHUMSKY

In code

Shumsky
Kharkov
Copy to the new Central Committee of the C.P.U.
Copy to Rakovsky

In confirmation of the telephone message which Lenin sent to Rakovsky last night, we inform you that, in view of the anomalous situation created by the fact that 105 delegates refused (while 8 abstained) to take part in the elections to the C.C. and protested against these elections as being unlawful, the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P. has resolved to set up a temporary body pending the settlement of this conflict. This temporary Central Committee should include Shumsky, a former Borotbist, now a Party member, who took no part in the factional struggle at the Ukrainian conference, along with 2 members of the new C.C. and 2 members of the old.

On behalf of the Politbureau,
Lenin

Written on March 24, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the typewritten copy

562

TO THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE[371]

24. III. 1920

The Council of People's Commissars submits to the All-Russia C.E.C. for endorsement a list of enterprises to come under the direct control of the central bodies of the Supreme Economic Council and included in "Group I" in accordance with the instructions of the All-Russia C.E.C.

This list has been unanimously accepted by the commission set up by the C.P.C. and endorsed by the Council of People's Commissars.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

563

NOTE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH THE DRAFT OF A TELEGRAM TO SH. Z. ELIAVA AND J. E. RUDZUTAK[372]

To the Members of the Politbureau:

I propose sending a code telegram to Eliava and Rudzutak:

"We insist on the strictest fulfilment of the C.C. decisions on foreign policy. Remove Heller and Broido from office immediately and completely. Hand over all affairs to Golub, Mashitsky and Gopner alone. Fulfil immediately all the other directives of the C.C. and report precise fulfilment. We warn you that further procrastination or evasion on your part from subordination to the Central Committee of the Party will entail penalties."

Lenin

Written on March 24, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

564

TO A. I. SVIDERSKY

Comrade Svidersky,

The following desperate position of factories has been brought to my notice:

Works Management No. 6 of Kaluga Gubernia, the Troitsk-Kondrovo and Polotnyany factories, formerly V. Howard and Goncharov Co.

Howardovo station, Syzran-Vyazma railway, and Polotnyany Zavod station.

Workers approximately . . . 2,500-3,000
Office workers . . . . . 200 persons
Mouths . . . . . 12,000 ”

On February 28 this year militarised.
In December assigned Red Army rations. They are receiving nothing.*

Please think of some kind of special instruction for food to be issued to them and send me your reply.

Lenin

Written in March,
not earlier than 24, 1920
First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

565

TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)[373]

Orgbureau of the C.C.

In my opinion, until railway transport is *fully* restored, this is out of the question.

Lenin

Written on March 26, 1920
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

566

TO A. I. RYKOV

Comrade Rykov

The seizure of 15 million poods of petrol in Grozny[374] compels us to adopt a number of urgent and important measures, such as:

* Underlined by Lenin.—*Ed.*

1. Especially strict safeguarding of petrol.
   Military measures. Special responsibility of army men.
2. Calculation: how much we need (*maximum*).
   The remainder—abroad for locomotives.
3. Collection of lorries (*from everywhere*, particularly from the army) and their repair *for transporting grain to the railway stations*.
4. Mobilisation of lorries and drivers for this purpose.
5. Transport of petrol to central depots.

Perhaps you will call a conference (of people from the Commissariat for Food and the military department) on this question and submit a proposal from the conference to the Council of Defence?

Please do this *urgently*.

Lenin

28/III.

Written on March 28, 1920
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*
Printed from the original

567
TO N. N. KRESTINSKY

Comrade Krestinsky,

It is necessary to keep to the *law*.

By law the final decision is the decision of the *Orgbureau*, which has already rejected the *protest* of the Ukrainian Central Committee.

This decision of the Orgbureau Yakovlev (and the Ukrainian C.C.) *is obliged* to fulfil **at once.**[375]

I agree to an *opinion poll* without recognising the right of the poll to hold up the decision, for *only* the plenum has that right, and I demand the right of agitation.

Lenin

Written not later than March 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51
Printed from the original

568

TO YELENA STASOVA

Chicherin is ill. He is not looked after. He refuses treatment and is killing himself.

A *friendly* letter (so as not to hurt his feelings) should be sent to him in the name of the Central Committee with the latter's *decision* that the C.C. demands that state property should not be squandered, that the best doctor should be called in (through Karakhan, say) and *should be obeyed*, and that, if the doctor advises, he must go on leave and *spend the necessary* time *in a sanatorium*.

Lenin

Written in 1920,
not later than March

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from the original

569

TO A. D. TSYURUPA

Comrade Tsyurupa,

It was stated in the Politbureau that army transports from Siberia should be *replaced by food* transports (in view of the victories in the south).

The decision was not put ill writing because Trotsky, who was in full agreement, *had already issued orders*.

The member of the Supreme Council for Transport from the Commissariat for Food should *keep his eyes open*.

Yours,
Lenin

Written in 1920,
not later than March

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

570

TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

A number of monasteries outside Petrograd should be taken over to accommodate defective and *homeless* children and adolescents.

Lenin

Written in March 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

571

TO I. I. KHODOROVSKY

In Kazan (working at the University, lecturer or professor, etc.) there is

Adoratsky.

I have known him for more than 10 years. A most reliable man. A well-educated Marxist.

I have asked him to write an outline of the history of the revolution.

Please

1) make full use of him for lectures, etc.
2) assist him with rations (*increased*), both him and his family, and with firewood, etc.
3) wire me his address (and what has been done for him).

Lenin

6/IV. 1920

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

572

TELEGRAM
TO THE SAMARA GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

6. IV. 1920

Gubernia Executive Committee
Samara
Copy to the Revolutionary Military Council

Are you carrying out a sufficiently drastic clean-up of

the town? Please apply yourselves to this and make a frequent check on fulfilment. Are the bourgeois and philistines not dodging labour conscription? It is essential to exert every effort to discipline them.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

573

TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE*

By direct line

Orjonikidze, R.M.C., Caucasian Front
Rostov-on-Don

I authorise you to announce to the mountain people that I promise to get financial aid for them passed through the Council of People's Commissars. On account of this give them up to** 200 million. In a few days Narimanov will leave for Petrovsk in accordance with your proposal. You can tell Mr. Uratadze in your name that the government does not object to his coming to Moscow, but I fully agree with you that there should be no hurry with his leaving Rostov for Moscow, in view of which I leave it to your discretion to fix the day of his departure.[376] On the question of land relations you can act independently, reporting, however, on the measures you take in this sphere. Please send information more often. I request you to expedite the transfer of units to the South-Western Front.

Lenin

Written on April 15, 1920

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the typewritten text, added to and signed by Lenin

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* At the bottom of the telegram Lenin added the words: "Please transmit this tonight by direct line to Rostov-on-Don. *Lenin*."—*Ed.*

** The subheading and the words "I promise ... give them up to" are in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

574

TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY

16. IV. 1920

Comrade Dzerzhinsky,

Give instructions, please, for a *very strict* check-up. Cannot impartial people, not Petrograders, be appointed for the check-up?

I have heard also from another source (besides the present letters + Kalmykova) that in this case the local Cheka behaved scandalously.

The matter must be sifted to the bottom, and quickly.

Be so kind, when the case is finished, to return to me the enclosed documents and have your secretary send me a telephone message about the result.[377]

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

575

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

16. IV. 1920

Comrade Vladimir Dmitrievich,

Will you please, *if you have now* recovered (when you are *fully* recovered),

1) make a check through witnesses *without any publicity*;

2) summon Gil and, for a start, only *reprimand* him (*mildly*), and warn him that in view of his good behaviour up to now you are limiting yourself to the smallest measure of punishment, without any entry in his service book, but in the event of a repetition it will be bad for him.[378]

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1958 in the book: A. A. Struchkov, *Lenin i narod* (Lenin and the People), Moscow

Printed from the original

576

UNDERLININGS AND AN INSTRUCTION ON A. V. LUNACHARSKY'S LETTER

Comrade V. I. Lenin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

You forwarded me a telegram from Kazan complaining about the lack of currency notes. I have received similar telegrams from Vyatka and Vologda gubernias. In all these places, because of the lack of money, teachers have not received salaries for three months.

Thus, it turns out that in the absolutely starving gubernias teachers go hungry for lack of foodstuffs, while in the producing gubernias such as those of Kazan, Vologda and Vyatka, in which teachers in fact could feed themselves, they are starving through lack of money.

I earnestly request you, Vladimir Ilyich, to issue some sort of directive or to put this before the Council of People's Commissars, so that currency notes issued for the needs of the gubernias will be divided proportionately, i.e.: where there is a 10-20% shortage, this shortage should be spread among all the departments. Otherwise. what happens in practice is that absolutely all, except those engaged in education, receive their salaries....

To the Narrow Council: please put this through. Even more: it is necessary to give *preference* to teachers.

Lenin

17/IV.

Written on April 17, 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

577

TELEGRAMS TO G. L. PYATAKOV

1

Pyatakov
Council of Labour Army 1
Ekaterinburg

In confirmation of Comrade Vladimirsky's telegram, the Council of People's Commissars instructs all local institutions of the Cis-Urals to be extremely moderate and cautious as regards the new administrative division of the

gubernias. The Council of Labour Army 1 should also be guided by this directive and, in particular, not set up any special commissions on this question.[379]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

20/IV. 20

2

Pyatakov
Council of Labour Army 1
Ekaterinburg

At its sitting on 20/IV. 20, the Council of People's Commissars decided: to reprimand the Council of Labour Army 1 for its insufficiently serious attitude towards the question of the new division of the gubernias, and to demand in future more thorough preparation of the matter so that there can be no contradictory reports from the localities.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

20/IV. 20

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from
the typewritten texts
signed by Lenin

578

TO THE PETROGRAD SOVIET[380]

Comrades,

I earnestly request you, in all cases when Comrade Gorky approaches you on such matters, to afford him *every* assistance; if there are any obstacles, stumbling-blocks or objections of one kind or another, please let me know what they are.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

22/IV. 1920

First published in 1925
in the book: *K godovshchine smerti V. I. Lenina. 1924—21 yanvarya—1925*
(On the Anniversary of the Death of V. I. Lenin, 1924-January 21-1925),
Moscow-Leningrad

Printed from the original

579

INSTRUCTION ON L. B. KRASIN'S NOTE

Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn should be prohibited from printing detailed information about fuel. It is quite possible that the offensive by the Poles is partly due to our laxity in this respect. We are past masters at proving by statistics in our newspapers the inevitability of our own demise for all kinds of reasons.

To Rykov: I think this is true. Your opinion?[381]

Written in April, prior to 18, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

580

TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Comrade Chicherin

Comrade *Chicherin*,

I would ask you and Fineberg (or if you are too busy, then a comrade at your choice who has an excellent knowledge of the British socialist movement) to look through my pamphlet, *or the chapter on Britain*,* and advise me whether I have made any mistakes or errors of tact. If it is no trouble I would particularly ask that the actual corrections be written down separately in pencil.

Yours,
Lenin

Written early in May 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

* See V. I. Lenin, "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder* (present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 17-118).—*Ed.*

581
TO N. A. SEMASHKO

3. V. 1920

If Comrade Semashko is absent, then for Comrade *Solovyov*

Comrade Semashko,

Please receive the bearer, Comrade Dmitry Nikitich *Yeroshenkov*, a doctor's assistant. He has been recommended to me by a very reliable comrade. Comrade Yeroshenkov has a few weeks to spare (until the special assignment we are giving him) and during that time would like, on the one hand, to study up on medicine and, on the other, to carry out medical work. Will you please help him.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. The comrade has invented a very *practical disinfecting* chamber. It should be tested and used.

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV* — Printed from the original

582
TO F. Y. KON*

Felix Kon
Kiev
Copy to Rakovsky
Kharkov

Regarding Vinnichenko we agree in principle. Reach agreement with Rakovsky on details.[382] Report briefly on the military situation and prospects.

Lenin

Written on May 4, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51 — Printed from the original

* Transmitted by direct line.—*Ed.*

583

TO L. D. TROTSKY[383]

Comrade Trotsky,

I think Chicherin is right: we should reply at once agreeing 1) to the suspension of hostilities (a) in the Crimea and (b) in the Caucasus (every word must be carefully considered) and 2) to negotiations on the conditions for clearing the Crimea *on the principle* (not more) of a general amnesty for the Whites and 3) to participation of a British officer in the negotiations with Wrangel. The text of Chicherin's reply to be discussed in the Politbureau today, so that a reply can be sent tonight.

Lenin

We shall collect votes by telephone.

Written on May 4, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

584

TO THE SECRETARIAT OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)[384]

I propose a directive that all articles about Poland and the Polish war be vetted by *editors*-in-chief on their *personal* responsibility. We must not overdo it, i.e., not descend to chauvinism, always draw a line between the Polish landowners and capitalists and the Polish workers and peasants.

Lenin

Written in May, after 5, 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

585

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)

Members of the Orgbureau:

Should we not adopt a decision such as the following: Directive of the C.C., R.C.P. to the Ukrainian C.C.: *double* the number of food workers by **ruthlessly** stripping for this purpose **all** People's Commissariats except that of military affairs.

Lenin

7/V.

Written on May 7, 1920
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

586

TO BASIN

7. V. 1920

Comrade Basin,

Please convey my thanks to the 30th Regiment of Red Communards of the Turkestan Front for the macaroni and flour, which I have handed over to the children of the city of Moscow.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the typewritten text signed by Lenin

587

TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE[385]

This runs counter to the Central Committee decision. It can have disastrous consequences. On no account is it permitted by the Central Committee. We categorically

demand that implementation be stopped and the decision rescinded.

*Lenin**

Written in May, not earlier than 7 and not later than 12, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the handwritten copy

588

TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN

In code

Comrade Krasin

The substance of the Politbureau's decision communicated to you was that all agreements concluded by you in gold currency should first be endorsed by the Politbureau. It is absolutely necessary to economise gold to the utmost. The Politbureau sees no business grounds for rescinding its decision.

On behalf of the Politbureau,
Lenin

May 11, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the typewritten copy

589

TO A. Y. BADAYEV

16. V. 1920

Comrade Badayev or his deputy
Petrograd

Please supply the Petrograd group of the State Commission for Electrification (the person in charge is Shatelen) with *50* Red Army men's rear area food rations and *9*

* The telegram is signed also by Trotsky.—*Ed.*

family food rations, without taking away the civilian ration cards.

Please let me know by telephone message exactly how many have been issued and when.

Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

590
TO LYDIA FOTIEVA

25. V. 1920

In connection with the C.C. directive for tightening up general discipline, particularly for persons on duty on Sundays and holidays,

I request you immediately to draw up and give me for signature regulations

concerning *responsible* persons (Glyasser, Volodicheva, Kizas and others) on duty in the Secretariat of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Defence specially on *Sundays* and *holidays* (also on weekdays). *Hours* and so on.

Lenin
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

591
RADIO-TELEGRAM TO M. V. FRUNZE

By radio

Eliava for Frunze
Turkestan Commission
Tashkent

What is the position with oil, what are the stocks, are the oil wells intact, what is the volume of production, what measures are being taken to increase it, what amount

is allocated for transportation and what are the requirements of the local railways?*

Lenin

Written on May 25, 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

592

TO ALL PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS[386]

especially Commissar for Agriculture
Commissar for Food
and Commissar for Labour

26. V. 1920

Please give every possible assistance towards the speediest organisation of the train "Northern Caucasus" and staffing it with efficient political workers and instructors.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

593

TO LYDIA FOTIEVA

Add to the Moscow and Petrograd Soviets (in communicating today's decision on market gardens)[387] that we are also expecting them to adopt measures for taking stock of and confiscating surpluses from the suburban market gardeners.**

Written on May 27, 1920
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

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* At the end of the radio-telegram Lenin added the words: "Get the radio station to sign."—*Ed.*

** The document bears a note by Fotieva: "In the minutes or only in the telephone message?" in which V. I. Lenin underlined three times the words "only in the telephone message".—*Ed.*

594

INSTRUCTION ON THE TELEGRAM FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE CAUCASIAN FRONT[388]

This to be permitted only on condition:

1) Of the special responsibility of *definite* local comrades.

2) Of *special* measures for disarmament.

3) Of not releasing particularly dangerous individuals (lists through the Vecheka).

Written in May, not earlier than 27, 1920

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

595

TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Comrade Chicherin,

Be sure to take advantage of Comrade Stalin's presence in Moscow (for 2 or 3 days) to have a talk *personally* with him and to collect (at once and *after* his journey, that is, to have more sent from the front) *all* material concerning British help for Wrangel.

Carefully collect it all and *publish* it within a week or two with a calm (without any abuse) Note of protest, showing that Britain *deviated from the truth*.[389]

Greetings,
Lenin

P.S. I have sent Bukharin (*for you*, too) my letter to the British workers. *Ring up Bukharin*.

Written on May 30, 1920

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

596

TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NIZHNI-NOVGOROD GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Chairman, Gubernia Executive Committee
Nizhni

According to information received, by a decision of the Nizhni-Novgorod Gubernia Executive Committee there was no loading of grain freights on Sunday, May 30. Bearing in mind that supplies for the Western Front, Petrograd and Moscow are almost exclusively water-borne, a stoppage in loading, even if only for one day, is impermissible and criminal. Take measures to prevent any repetition of such facts in future, and urgently report execution to me.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on May 31 or June 1, 1920

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the text in Fotieva's handwriting signed by Lenin

597

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

Comrade *Stalin*
Kremenchug

To be handed only personally to *Stalin* for personal decoding

The situation on the Western Front has turned out to be worse than Tukhachevsky and the Commander-in-Chief thought, hence the divisions you asked for must be sent there, but no more can be taken from the Caucasian Front, because there are insurrections there and the position is extremely alarming. Trotsky is arranging to send you reinforcements from the Crimean divisions, which may enable

you to take two or three of them for the Kiev direction. Try to bring up the units and at all costs follow up the offensive with greater vigour. You, of course, will remember that, by a decision of the Politbureau, the offensive against the Crimea has been halted pending a further decision of the Politbureau.[390]

Lenin

Written on June 2, 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the typewritten copy

598

NOTE TO THE SECRETARY

Please inquire of all the members of the C.P.C. (*and Comrade Kamenev*) by telephone:

whether they agree to include in the "constitution" (confirmed yesterday) of the Narrow Council[391] an addendum that matters can also be submitted to the Narrow Council *on the proposal of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars*.

Write all their replies down on it.

Lenin

2/VI.

Agree: *Disagree*:

Written on June 2, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

599

INSTRUCTION TO THE SECRETARY[392]

Telephone Bryukhanov: if Belenky does not *absolutely* guarantee the delivery, and quickly, then it is obligatory *at once* to permit independent procurements. It is criminal

to lose Baku because of the idiocy or obstinacy of officials of the Food Commissariat.

Lenin

2/6.

Written on June 2, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

600

TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE[393]

Orjonikidze
Revolutionary Military Council of the Caucasian Front

I have received your fretful letter. You are wrong to regard the inquiry I am obliged to make as distrust. I hope you will have dropped this misplaced aggrieved tone by the time we meet.

Lenin

Written on June 3, 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

601

TO L. D. TROTSKY[394]

This is sheer utopia. Won't it cost too many lives? We will be sacrificing a host of our soldiers. We must think this over and weigh it up ten times. I suggest replying to Stalin: "Your proposal for an offensive against the Crimea is so serious that we should make inquiries and give it most careful consideration. Wait for our reply. *Lenin*, *Trotsky*."*

Written on June 3, 1920
First published in part in 1960 in the book: *Istoria grazhdanskoi voiny v SSSR. 1917-1922*, Vol. 5
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the typewritten copy

* In the typewritten copy there follow the words: "In Lenin's handwriting."—*Ed.*

602
TO N. N. KRESTINSKY

Krestinsky. Urgent.

(Enclose the Siberian telegram on the census and Popov's comment.)

I suggest collecting the votes of the Politbureau members today, by telephone, for a decision such as the following:

> the census in Siberia to be definitely carried out simultaneously with Russia; moreover, in place of the dubious local people suspected of supporting the Kolchak regime, workers to be called in from the famine-stricken gubernias of Russia.

If they do not agree, the Politbureau is to be called tomorrow, 5.VI, in the morning. Less than 1,000 workers are needed. They can easily be transported and will be of great use.

Written on June 4, 1920

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI* — Printed from the original

603
TO V. V. VOROVSKY AND V. P. MILYUTIN

Comrade Vorovsky (State Publishers)
and Comrade Milyutin (Supreme Economic Council)

The Kirghiz comrades are asking for help in order to acquire

a type foundry,
a print-shop
and paper.

Will you please receive them and give them every assistance.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

4/VI. 1920

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV* — Printed from the original

604

TO L. D. TROTSKY[395]

1

Comrade Trotsky,

The Commander-in-Chief must be informed and asked for his opinion. When you have received it, give me your conclusion at the meeting of the Council of Defence, or let us talk it over (if it does not end too late) by telephone.

Lenin

2

There is some capriciousness here, I dare say. But the matter needs to be discussed urgently. And what extraordinary measures should be taken?

Lenin

Written on June 4, 1920

Printed from the typewritten copy

605

EXCHANGE OF NOTES WITH K. A. ALFEROV[396]

TO K. A. ALFEROV

Comrade Alferov,

Is Takhtamyshev in your service? *Are you feeding him badly?* Why is he so thin and pale?

K. A. ALFEROV'S REPLY

He is a member of the Supreme Board, lives on the Soviet ration, works unlimited hours. *Alferov*.

TO K. A. ALFEROV

He must be given a *higher* ration, one way or another. Such a situation can't be tolerated. An exception must be made.

Written on June 4, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

606
TO S. I. BOTIN

4/VI. 1920

Comrade Botin,

You told Comrade Belenky that the experiments could be made on Friday (i.e., today).[397] A *special* military-political circumstance has arisen, which may mean our losing *many extra thousands* of Red Army men within the next few days. It is therefore my absolute duty to request insistently that you hasten the experiment and *carry it out today* without fail, if there is the slightest possibility (all the *manual* work, such as regulating the engine, you should assign to *others*, not occupying yourself with trifles).

Will you please answer me at once by the messenger, as fully and exactly as possible. I would not be hurrying you if an *immediate* political-strategic decision of great importance were not called for.

Answer in detail

(1) Can you speed things up to the maximum extent?

(2) When will you carry out the first experiment and when (approximately) will you complete it?

Greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

607
TO V. A. OBUKH

5/VI. 1920

Dear Vladimir Alexandrovich,

I have just heard from Maria Ilyinichna of the death of your son. We were both stunned by the news! Heart disease, I take it. On behalf of myself, of Nadezhda Konstantinovna, and of Maria Ilyinichna, permit me to press your hand hard and that of your wife, whose acquaintance,

unfortunately, I have not had a chance to make. You need all your strength to help you both bear this blow, worn out as you are by overwork. And bear it you must, for we have so few functionaries. Again, a very firm handshake!

Wholly yours,
Lenin

First published in 1960 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 2

Printed from the original

608

TELEGRAM TO THE IRKUTSK GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OR GUBERNIA REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

10. VI. 1920

1) Gubernia Executive Committee or Gubernia Revolutionary Committee
Irkutsk

2) Copy to Smirnov, Chairman of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee
Omsk

Please give every assistance to my comrade in exile in Siberia, Ivan Lukich Prominsky, railway-truck greaser at the Innokentyevskaya Depot. Address: House of Lukyanov No. 195, 4th Torgovaya, Innokentyevskaya. Also convey my greetings to him by telegraph and, finally, please transfer him to a better place on the Altai railway. He is already old. Wire what you have done.

Lenin

First published (facsimile of the copy) in 1924 in *Ogonyok* No. 34

Printed from the original

609
TO G. V. CHICHERIN[398]

This is blatant lying and trickery designed for fools. They have given arms, they are giving coal *and a fleet*— and they make this statement through "Wise" (=Bullitt?).

I advise: 1) Send a coded message to Krasin: "that scoundrel Lloyd George is fooling you in the most vile and shameless manner, don't believe a word, and fool him threefold".

2) To Curzon: a derisive telegram (of course, when you had *already* given arms, **he**, not *you*, started an offensive, and when you had given *coal*, *he*, not you, set the ships in motion, and so on in that strain).

Lenin

Written on June 11, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51
Printed from the original

610
TO D. I. LESHCHENKO

In view of the extreme importance and topicality of the photographs and documents brought by Comrade Goikhbarg of the court trial of Kolchak's ministers, I order that copies of these photographs and documents, together with Comrade Goikhbarg's brief comments, be prepared *immediately* for making a number of *motion pictures* for the widest distribution.

Report fulfilment to me twice weekly.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on June 12, 1920
First published in 1925 in the book: G. Boltyansky, *Lenin i kino* (Lenin and the Cinema). Moscow-Leningrad
Printed from the text of the book

611

TO THE FUEL DEPARTMENT OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET

16. VI. 1920

Dear Comrades,

I enclose herewith the decision of the Council of Labour and Defence of 11.VI,[399] and *again specially* ask you to give this question *the most serious* attention.

The Moscow population can *and should* be mobilised to a man to haul out of the forests *by hand* a sufficient quantity of firewood (say, one cubic metre per adult man in 3 months—the experts can figure it out more exactly; I mention a figure as an example) to stations on the railways and narrow-gauge lines.

Unless *heroic* measures are taken, I shall personally get a decision put through the Council of Defence and the C.C. not only for the arrest of all the persons responsible but for their execution. Inactivity and negligence cannot be tolerated.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published on September 26, 1942, in *Pravda* No. 269

Printed from the original

612

TO A. M. HELLER[400]

18. VI. 1920

Comrade Heller,

I am sending you *all* the materials (in my possession). Make up an *accurate* list of them at once.

I shall obtain *Avanti!* and send it.

Make a list of the *most important* documents and a translation of those that are *extremely* important, *showing* the deviation of the reformists (especially Turati and Co.) from the discipline and decisions.

(As applying to Serrati, *Comunismo* No. 10, 15-29.II.1920, p. 693:

"Simile opera di epurazione—di '*purificazione*' ha scritto Francesco Misiano nello stesso '*Soviet*'—può essere veramente opportuna ed utile, sopratutto se si tratti di chi risolutamente si opponga alla propaganda per la realizzazione dei principî fissati a Bologna[401] come mèta del nostró movimento."*)

N.B. × **This is the thing to find out, by name and exactly.**

Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

613

TO THE WARDEN OF THE 2nd HOUSE OF SOVIETS

Copy to Comrade Shotman

June 19, 1920

Flat No. 439 at the 2nd House of Soviets occupied by Comrade A. V. Shotman is, during his absence, at the disposal of the Central Committee of the Finnish Communist Party and cannot be occupied by anyone without special permission from the Council of People's Commissars.

The Finnish comrades, on arrival, are to be given every assistance and placed on the allowance list in the usual way. Better still, though, on the priority list, as guests.

Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the typewritten copy

* Serrati, *Comunismo* No. 10, 15-29.II.1920, p. 693: "Such work of cleansing—of '*purification*'—wrote Francesco Misiano in that same '*Soviet*'—can be truly timely and useful, especially if the matter concerns those who resolutely oppose propaganda for realising the principles, established in Bologna as the aim of our movement" (underlined by Lenin).—*Ed.*

614

MARKINGS ON P. V. BUKHARTSEV'S TELEGRAM CONCERNING THE AGREEMENT WITH THE AMERICAN CORPORATION, AND AN INSTRUCTION TO THE SECRETARY[402]

In the course of the next 36 hours, sanction the agreement with the representative of the American Corporation, which has the backing of America.

... Orders, with delivery within 20 days, for twine, machinery, technical equipment, not later than three months—no less than 200 locomotives with tank-cars, trucks, etc. Principal points of agreement: the Corporation, on orders from the agent, undertakes in exchange for raw materials to supply from abroad miscellaneous commodities, materials, machinery, instruments, medicaments, etc., excepting munitions; perfumery and luxury goods, with delivery at one of the Black Sea ports, as indicated by the agent. Second, for the supply of goods the agent pays the Corporation in raw materials....

... Besides the sums indicated in point 2, the agent pays the Corporation in raw materials also a commission amounting to ten per cent of the value of the goods supplied. Fourth, the raw materials: tobacco, wool, oilcakes, etc., delivered by the agent in exchange for the goods supplied are valued at the prices ruling on the world market at the time of delivery....

too much!

Urgent

1) Telephone Lezhava (and Scheinman, if he is still here) and the members of the Politbureau.

2) In principle I am *for* it: (a) bargain: reduce the commission charges; (b) stipulate precisely: after delivery of their goods, delivery of ours or exchange *at our port*. No other way.

*Lenin**

19/IV.

Written on June 19, 1920

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

* Below, in Lenin's handwriting, is "+Kamenev".—*Ed.*

615
TO A. N. MEREZHIN[403]

Comrade Merezhin

I think an additional point should be formulated (on the basis of the information of Rafes and others) roughly as follows:

The experience of proletarian dictatorship in the Ukraine, especially in those parts of it where there is a mixed population, and also in Byelorussia (and+? +? Hungary?), has shown that national strife not only in the form of pogroms, of which not even the most democratic bourgeois republic is free, but also in the form of petty but all-pervading squabbling is practically disappearing. The reasons for this: 1) the interest, attention, and all the intellectual powers of the workers and working peasants are wholly engrossed in the great struggle with the bourgeoisie, a struggle that unites the working people of all nations; 2) the dictatorship of the proletariat suppresses the "freedom" of action of the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and bourgeois intelligentsia, which freedom signifies the use of their forces, influence and knowledge by the bourgeoisie to inflame the class struggle.

Cannot 2 or more concrete facts be added?

Written between June 21 and July 26, 1920

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

РЦХИДНІ ф. 5 оп. 1 спр. 2 арк. 1 ТОМАС NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

616
TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR AGRICULTURE AND THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOOD

22. VI. 1920

Please see that Citizen *Tyrkov*, one of the last of the Mohicans of the heroic group of Narodovoltsi, involved in the March trial for the assassination of Alexander II—Citizen Tyrkov is now in extreme old age—

is provided with two or three dessiatines of land from his former estate and two cows for his family.

Orders for this to be given urgently by the People's Commissar for Agriculture, Comrade Sereda,
and by the People's Commissar for Food, Comrade Tsyurupa (or his deputy), by agreement, *by telegraph*, with the local gubernia executive committee.*

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

I ask the People's Commissars to sign whether they agree or not.

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

617

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE PODOLSK UYEZD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, MOSCOW GUBERNIA

22. VI. 1920

Having once again considered my decision in regard to Comrade Vever[405] following his further explanations, I inform you that my decision stands and has to be fulfilled.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

618

TO G. V. CHICHERIN[406]

Here Comrade Karakhan is to blame.
He does not know *how* things should be done in the Soviet Republic:

1) take an excerpt from the minutes of the Politbureau,
2) on the basis of this, take a *decision* of the Narrow Council (over my signature) or of the appropriate People's Commissar,

---

* At the top of the document Lenin wrote: "Remind me there should be a report on **fulfilment** from the **Commissariat for Agriculture.**"[404]—*Ed.*

3) for non-fulfilment, complain to me formally *after 24* hours,
4) repeat this many times over.
Who does not know this, is naïve.

Lenin

24/VI.

Written on June 24, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

619
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Comrade Zinoviev, Chairman of the Petrograd Executive Committee

The famous physiologist, Pavlov, asks to be allowed to go abroad in view of his straitened circumstances. To have Pavlov leave the country is hardly advisable, since he has previously made statements to the effect that, being a truthful man, he could not, in the event of the subject being brought up in conversations, avoid expressing himself against Soviet power and communism in Russia.

On the other hand, this scientist is such a great cultural asset that his forcible detention in Russia in conditions of material insecurity is unthinkable.

In view of this it would be desirable, by way of esception, to allow him a special ration and in general to ensure more or less comfortable circumstances for him exclusively.

I have heard that in the Petrograd rest homes life is very well ordered for those living there. Something of the kind could be done for Professor Pavlov at his apartment

Comrade Lunacharsky will make the appropriate proposal to Comrade Badayev. I ask you to support him in this respect.[407]

Lenin

25/VI.

Written on June 25, 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the typewritten text signed by Lenin

620
TO SIBERIAN SOVIET INSTITUTIONS

26. VI. 1920

Please give the bearer,

Comrade Ilya Danilovich *Putintsev*,

every assistance in organising a kindergarten and other similar enterprises in his locality, Semipalatinsk Gubernia, Pavlodar Uyezd.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

621
NOTE TO THE SECRETARY[408]

Check *when* we asked for this.*

Reprimand them for impermissible procrastination. They are obliged to give a brief reply *at once*; we shall give them a postponement (they should say *how many* days they ask for) only for a more detailed report.

Give me the text of the telegram in reply to them,

Written on June 28, 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

622
TELEGRAM TO A. Y. BADAYEV AND AN INSTRUCTION TO D. I. KURSKY

Badayev
Executive Committee
Petrograd
Copy to the Gubernia Land Department

In the matter of presenting information concerning the requisitioning of market-garden produce you have displayed

* See next document.—*Ed.*

impermissible procrastination. The first telephone message was transmitted to you on May 28, the second on June 22, and it was only to a telegram of June 26 that your reply was forthcoming, signed by secretary Trilisser. A brief report must be presented by you without delay. Inform us exactly how many days of postponement are required for a more detailed report. In the event of a brief report not being presented immediately, and a more detailed one within a very short period, the persons responsible will be called to strict account.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Copy to Comrade Kursky: prosecute them for procrastination.

Report fulfilment.*

Lenin

Written on June 29, 1920
First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the text
in Fotieva's handwriting
added to and signed by
Lenin

623
TO A. M. NIKOLAYEV

29. VI. 1920

Comrade Nikolayev,

We must *definitively* make use of this protocol and of your inclusion (*at last* our capricious one,[409] too, begins to understand that there has to be an expert!), in order *radically* to reorganise the whole business.

1) Study the protocol carefully and question the mechanic at the electric station;

2) on the basis of this decide for yourself whether it is worth while to *continue* the experiments;

* The text of the telegram from the words "Copy to Comrade Kursky" to the end is in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

3) if you think it is, we shall draw up a *written*, precise constitution giving *all* rights to the expert (i.e., to you)—with a guarantee *from me* to the inventor that we shall keep it *secret*.

And then work is to be started in real earnest, i.e., by enlisting experts for a number of auxiliary special assignments, *with the participation of one expert* (you) in **all** secrets.

Greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

624

TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET

I enclose an extract from the booklet *Cooking Food Without Fire* (p. 43, No. 1 of "The Housewife's Little Library", published by the Supreme Economic Council, Moscow, 1918) and ask you to let me know the results of the thermos vessel competition announced by the Food Department of the Moscow Soviet.[410]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on June 29, 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the typewritten text signed by Lenin

625

TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE

through Alliluyeva

All in code and **immediate**

Comrade Orjonikidze

Zinoviev is giving you an important international assignment.[411] In addition, I have gone into the matter and I see that you retain all rights and powers through the front

and through the supreme local Party body. Once more I ask you not to fret and to be patient a little.

Moreover, you are charged with the leadership of the entire foreign and home policy of Azerbaijan and with supervising the fulfilment of the directives of the Central Committee and People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in regard to Persia, Armenia and Georgia.[412]

Answer.

Lenin

Written on June 29 or 30, 1920
First published in part in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51
Printed from the original

626

INSTRUCTION ON I. N. SMIRNOV'S LETTER

Vladimir Ilyich,

I am sending you absolutely *accurate* information *verified on the spot by our people*, about goods intended for shipment abroad lying at the wharves. All the goods are *packed* and in two weeks' time will go to the mouth of the river Ob.

We have done our part. I fear that the cost of these goods will be 2-3 times in excess of what we shall be getting from Sweden.

Put pressure on the Commissariat for Foreign Trade to make use of this surplus of goods.

Smirnov

Krasin

1) Return it to me *with your comment*.
2) Put on full *pressure*.
3) Give me a copy of the **measures**.[413]

Lenin

Written between July 3 and 13, 1920
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

627

TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

To be handed to the duty commissar

Zinoviev
Petrograd

Comrade Zinoviev,

I am sending the theses* tomorrow, Monday. Arrange for them to be received without any delay. Kobetsky and Vorovsky must be commissioned to prepare a business-like criticism of the Norwegian Party and the Swedish Left Party in time for the Congress.[414] It is necessary to have accurate and complete material. With regard to translations at the Congress itself, the matter must be organised in advance: all delegates should be seated according to languages, so that there can be simultaneous immediate translations for the Germans, French and English. This will save time. Russian is obviously necessary, for it is clear that people will insist on session in theatres.

Greetings,
Lenin

Written on July 4, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the text of the telegraph form

628

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

1

My booklet on *imperialism* ought to be published in German (and in other languages), for it is always a basic issue.**

Your opinion?

If yes, *to whom* should it be entrusted?

---

* This refers to "Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International" (see present edition Vol. 31, pp. 184-201).—*Ed.*

** This refers to Lenin's book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 185-304).—*Ed.*

2

I should like to write a new preface.
What is the *time limit*?

3

Put 1-2 privatdocents on the job of finding sources in the best libraries.
They will find them.[415]

Written in July,
prior to 6, 1920

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

629

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Comrade Zinoviev,

I am sending the preface to *Imperialism*.*
Please have also the *Basle Manifesto* of 1912 reprinted as *an appendix*. (It should not be difficult to find the German text for you surely have Grinberg's "archives", etc.)
I have received your theses on the Soviets and the conditions for their establishment, but have only managed to skim lightly through them. I do not object.

Greetings,
Lenin

7/VII.

What about my speeches and reports at the Congress?[416] Is it necessary to prepare them in German or French? I think the opening speech (and others) should be *in Russian* (for, almost certainly, they will be in theatres with Russian audience). They will be translated. And since there are the theses I propose, while referring to them, to speak extremely briefly. Your opinion? (The agrarian report by

* See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 189-94.—*Ed.*

Marchlewski; for me the *national* report and the *opening* speech, only?)

Written on July 7, 1920
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI* Printed from the original

630

TO A. M. NIKOLAYEV

Comrade Nikolayev,

I have received your letter of 7/VII.

I am very glad you have now started properly.

I advise you (1) to demand more officially and more insistently that *all* secrets should *at once* be revealed to you.

(2) Set up the installation, if possible, on special wooden supports, so that it can be removed instantaneously from the truck (perhaps better to use a flat-car instead of a truck) and placed on a lorry, *on to the ground*, and so on (for the inventor made a successful experiment, so he says, *not* in a truck).

(3) If you find that "the game is worth the candle", then don't be sparing with money and people for *hastening* the work.

Greetings,
Lenin

Written in July, not earlier than 7, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51 Printed from the original

631

TO M. M. GRUZENBERG

Comrade Gruzenberg,

Comrade Murphy has told me that the translation of the *theses* contains solecisms.

You must yourself undertake (or immediately organise a *group* to help) good editing of the translation of *all* the theses.

Consult the English comrades about this.

Regarding Wijnkoop: I have sent Radek his statement

(written *by Wijnkoop* in English). Whether the English is good, I do not know. *Take from Radek everything sent by me* (if necessary, forward this letter to him), and check, please, if the English is good. (The content of the statement: the Dutch *Party* is not responsible for "Leftism", the latter is the *work of certain* Dutchmen.)

(Print only this statement and my statement that I am introducing corrections in the text.[417])

Regarding the quality of the English translations, you must take good care and set up a group of *responsible* Englishmen (with their responsibility *in written form*), otherwise we shall be blamed (and so will you).

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

8/VII.

Written on July 8, 1920
First published in part in 1960 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 3
Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51
Printed from the original

632

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR HEALTH[418]

According to information in my possession you have in storage film for cinema work that is not being used.

In view of the acute need of the Cinema Department of the People's Commissariat for Education and a series of urgent works in hand of great agitational importance, please turn over at least part of your store to the Cinema Department of the People's Commissariat for Education.*

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on July 8, 1920
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the typewritten text signed by Lenin

* Lydia Fotieva added to this document the words: "On the instruction of V. I., please report fulfilment. *L. Fotieva.*"—*Ed.*

633

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)

To all the members of the Politbureau:

I propose that Krasin and the entire delegation be given the directive:

"Be firmer, don't be afraid of a temporary break of the negotiations."[419]

Lenin

9/VII.

Written on July 9, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

634

TO L. B. KAMENEV AND G. V. CHICHERIN

Kamenev and Chicherin

Comrade Kamenev's plan is utterly incorrect.[420] Our business with Britain is *purely* commercial. Chicherin is not right. We should send to Britain *only* a "tradesman"; if they ask 2¼ kopeks, beat them down to 1¾ kopeks.

Exposures here are harmful. This is not 1918. We have the Comintern for that. All Kamenev's arguments = arguments *against* his going.

Lenin

10/VII.

P.S. For the time being we shall appoint Krasin, Vorovsky and another 2-3 assistants.[421]

Lenin

Written on July 10, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

635

UNDERLININGS AND AN INSTRUCTION ON I. N. SMIRNOV'S TELEGRAM

Lenin
Kremlin
Moscow
Copy to *Tsyurupa*, People's Commissariat for Food

Omsk, July 9. Half of the Altai and Tomsk gubernias are in the grip of a kulak movement which we are suppressing by force of arms. The cause of the insurrection is lack of commodities. From the insurgent kulaks we are confiscating grain, the whole of which has not been threshed. Work hands should be sent out urgently to thresh and load; unless you send workers we shall not be able to take the grain. A minimum of 7,000 is required at once for the Altai alone. If you are late, the opportunity will be lost. Ascertain the possibility and inform us, if you cannot send them, we shall immediately cancel the order for confiscation, because the kulaks will burn grain that is unthreshed and unguarded.

Smirnov
Chairman of the Siberian
Revolutionary Committee

I insist on all possible help. Directive from the C.C.—make every haste. We are sending people.

Tsyurupa, Schmidt (Commissariat for Labour) and Chief Labour Committee:

Send at once, extremely urgent, exert every effort.

Lenin

Written on July 11, 1920
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

636

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

Comrade Sklyansky,

Please return this[422] to me with your remarks as to *what has already been fulfilled* and what is being fulfilled, and *when*.

Lenin

Written between July 11 and 15, 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

637
TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

Comrade Sklyansky,

The international situation, particularly Curzon's proposal (annexation of the Crimea in exchange for a truce with Poland, the Grodno-Byelostok line),[423] demands a *furious* acceleration of the offensive against Poland.

Is it being done? Everything? Energetically?

Lenin

Written on July 12 or 13, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

638
TO THEODORE ROTHSTEIN

15/VII. 1920

Dear Comrade,

Many thanks for the letters, which always contain extremely valuable information. I enclose a letter from my wife and ask you to give my regards to your wife and family, whom I met at your home in London.

About your journey to Russia, I am in two minds. You are so very important for the work in London. Let them deport you: we shall see if they dare to do so. They would have to catch you on something, otherwise there will be a row. I am not against your coming "to take a look" at Russia, but I am afraid that to quit Britain is harmful for the work.

As to the delegation, we shall discuss this in all aspects in a day or so. The same with the reply to Curzon,[424] who, in my opinion, wants to grossly deceive us. He won't succeed.

About sending you literature, I have taken special measures. You should know that a Russian has to be sworn at 20 times and verified 30 times to have the simplest thing done properly. Keep an eye on it and write more often (even sometimes to me)—then I shall push things on so that you get the missing publications more regularly.

I think that your guiding participation (it is possible by the pen and secretly) in the Anglo-Saxon movement is especially valuable. Here it is highly important to straighten out the line. You will receive my pamphlet against the "Leftists"* and resolutions (drafts) for the Second Congress of the Third International, and I should very much like to know your opinion.

All the very best,

Yours,

Lenin

Sent to London

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

639

TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

I refused to sign because it is too sweeping and vague. I propose that it be redrafted more exactly (what, in concrete terms, does "to take *into the network*" mean?) and submitted a second time *together with* the instructions.[425]

Lenin

15/VII.

Written on July 15, 1920

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

640

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO L. B. KAMENEV

Kamenev

1. The utmost attention must be paid to collecting English writings showing that trade agreements with the So-

* This refers to Lenin's "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder* (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 17-118).—*Ed.*

viet Republics are more advantageous to the British bourgeoisie than unprofitable and even ruinous attempts to crush them. It is necessary to collect such writings for us, and besides this, to discuss with knowledgeable people whether in addition it would not be expedient to employ some kind of literary bureau or agency for the publication of such pamphlets, for giving lectures, and for their distribution, etc. You, of course, know whom one should consult in the first place about this.

2. It is necessary to organise through special people the regular collection, purchase, without stinting money, and dispatch to us in 5 copies, of books, articles, pamphlets, newspaper cuttings, particularly in English, but also in other languages, on questions of modern economics. As an example, Keynes's *Economic Consequences of the Peace*. This is the sort of publication that should be collected systematically.

3. Do the same, but only through special people, for the collection and dispatch to us in 20 copies of periodical publications of all kinds, and especially pamphlets and minutes of the following four trends: 1—communist, 2—Centrist (for example, the Independent Labour Party in Britain), 3—anarchist or near to it, 4—syndicalist, etc.

4. All this should be properly organised by a legal agreement, through someone who must be a British subject and not a Communist.

5. Please send me personally: 1—good recent reference books and summary statistical publications, geographical, political and economic, particularly in English and French, which are more easily obtainable in London, and 2—two good thermos flasks.

Lenin

Dictated by telephone on
July 17, 1920

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from
the typewritten copy

641

TO THE POLISH BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)

28. VII. 1920

I recommend the bearer, Comrade Ivan Lukich *Prominsky*, a Polish worker, Social-Democrat since 1894.

I know him well from exile in 1897-1900. Please have confidence in him and give him assistance.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Member of the C.C., R.C.P.

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

642

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE

The peace proposal by the Poles gives us an opportunity for more systematic use of the troops which it was intended to transfer from the Caucasian Front to the Western Front. I propose, therefore, that the Council of Defence draft a decision as follows:

1. The troops of the Caucasian Front to march through the entire Ukraine, the route being so calculated that *each* volost (of the approximately 1,900 volosts of the Ukraine) is passed through *twice*, first by a cavalry unit and then, after an interval, an infantry unit, to fulfil (and then *check* fulfilment of) the following tasks:

(a) the collection of food (according to the quotas to be requisitioned);

(b) the formation locally, i.e., in every village, of a *double* (compared to the quota) stock of food (collected in barns, in houses of priests, landowners, the rich, etc.), this stock to be guarded by the local peasants on their responsibility.

This double stock is to serve as an *exchange* fund; from this stock held by the peasants, grain will be taken *after* the local peasants have been supplied

with *goods*, Russian and *foreign*, *by agreement* with the local peasants;

(c) the compilation (and checking) of a list of "*responsible*" peasants (5-20%, etc., of the householders of each village, depending on its size, to be selected from the local *rich peasants* starting from the top, i.e., according to wealth).

The "responsible" peasants are to be *personally* answerable for the fulfilment of food and other assignments of the authorities.

After the departure of the troops, the special task of the local authorities will be to ensure the proper and safe keeping of this list (for non-fulfilment of this task—*death sentence*);

(d) the disarming of the rich peasants.

Complete collection of arms. Responsibility for undiscovered arms rests on the commander of the army unit; for non-declaration of arms it rests on the person with whom they are found (death sentence), *and on the whole group of "responsible" peasants* (a fine, not in money, but in grain and articles; confiscation of property, arrest; work in the mines);

(e) assistance in sowing the fields, in repairs to agricultural implements, and other necessary work (guarding stores or checking the guard over them, work on the railways, etc.) (guarding stores of salt, etc.).

2. For the purposes indicated above, a commissar or instructor to be added to each army unit (to its Communist cell) (muster 1,000 people if necessary from the Petrograd, Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk workers) to control fulfilment of the tasks mentioned.

3. In "stubborn" volosts or villages, the army units either to organise a "third visit" (by troops) or to remain longer *billeted* (up to 2 weeks) for punishment and correction.

4. Part of these decisions to he put through the Defence Council, part through the Council of the Labour Army and the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine.

5. A *highly popular* leaflet to be published for the peasants to explain matters in general, and the idea of the *stocks of food for exchange for foreign goods*, in particular.

A commission to be set up at once for publishing such a leaflet, and a series of them, as well as a number of instructions.

For drafting these proposals, a commission to be set up at once consisting of Comrades Bryukhanov and Sklyansky. Comrade Stalin to be asked to be the chairman of the commission.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, Council of Defence

Written at the end of July 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

643
TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV

In code
by direct line

Smirnov, Chairman, Siberian Revolutionary Committee
Omsk

The Commander-in-Chief has asked for cartridges and rifles from Siberia. This demand must be fulfilled immediately, without any delay, and the shipments dispatched so as to arrive with maximum speed. Ascertain whether more of these articles can be given, and if so, give them. Check execution.

Lenin

Written on August 2, 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the text in Sklyansky's handwriting

644
TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN[426]

In code

Stalin:

I do not quite understand why you are dissatisfied with the separation of the fronts. Let me know your reasons. It seemed to me to be necessary since the Wrangel danger is increasing. As to a deputy, let me know your opinion

about a candidate. Please inform me also what promises the Commander-in-Chief is late with. Our diplomacy is subordinated to the C.C. and will never disrupt our successes, if the Wrangel danger does not cause vacillations within the Central Committee. From the Kuban area and the Don Region we are getting alarming, even desperate, telegrams about the menacing growth of the insurgent movement. They are insisting on more speed in defeating Wrangel.

Lenin

Written on August 3, 1920
Sent to Lozovaya

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

645

TO I. T. SMILGA AND M. N. TUKHACHEVSKY

In code
by direct line
3. VIII. 1920

Comrade Smilga
and Comrade Tukhachevsky

All measures should be taken to promulgate in Poland on the widest possible scale the Manifesto of the Polish Revolutionary Committee. Use our aircraft for this. Report what you have done.

Lenin

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the text in Sklyansky's handwriting

646

TO L. B. KAMENEV

We should say (in regard to the frontier) that we shall give *more* (the line will be *farther to the east*),[427]
but *not* say: "**much**" more, *much* farther to the east.

Written in August,
not later than 5, 1920

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

647

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

Stalin

I apologise for the delay in replying, due to the end of the work of the Comintern. The plenary meeting of the Central Committee did not adopt any decisions* that alter the established policy. Britain is threatening war, she does not want to wait later than Monday, August 9. I don't much believe the threats. Kamenev in London is also standing firm so far, and I am convinced that your successes against Wrangel will help to put an end to the vacillations within the Central Committee. In general, however, much still depends on Warsaw and its fate.**

Lenin

Written on August 7, 1920

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI* — Printed from the original

648

TELEGRAM TO I. T. SMILGA, F. E. DZERZHINSKY AND J. MARCHLEWSKI

In code

Smilga
Dzerzhinsky
Marchlewski

Your reports are too laconic. Details about the temper of the agricultural labourers and Warsaw workers are essential and urgently needed, as well as about political prospects in general. I earnestly request you to reply today if possible.

Lenin

Written on August 9, 1920

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV* — Printed from the original

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* Lenin marked off the remaining text of the telegram and wrote in the margin: "In code."—*Ed.*

** See also present edition, Vol. 31, p. 266.—*Ed.*

649

TO THE PETROGRAD SOVIET

10. VIII. 1920

Please publish an atlas,
similar to the book

Railways of Russia (publication of the A. Ilyin Cartographical Institute. Petrograd, September 1, 1918),

1) i.e., in a single small-sized book;
2) maps each on 2 pages of .the book, if possible *without folding* the sheets;
3) on each map the *new* boundaries of the gubernias (with the same colour as in Ilyin's for each gubernia). *All* uyezd towns;
4) railways, indicating *every* station;
5) *new* state frontiers;
6) separately: regions and territories which have fallen away from the former Russian Empire (on a separate map);
7) append *some* historical maps indicating the *line of the fronts* (of the Civil War) at various periods from 1917 to 1920.

Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

650

TELEGRAM TO A. G. BELOBORODOV

In code

10. VIII. 1920

Beloborodov
Council of the Caucasian Labour Army
Rostov-on-Don
or present whereabouts
Armavir, etc.

Please wire how matters stand in regard to the revolts in the Caucasus and on the Kuban, whether they are increasing or weakening, whether all measures have been

taken, whether there has been an appreciable arrival of new troops, whether there are enough of them, and other details.[428]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

651
TELEGRAM TO K. KH. DANISHEVSKY*

Danishevsky

From Chicherin you will learn of our great diplomatic success in Britain in regard to Poland. I hope you will be fully able to take this into account and cleverly include in the terms both Warsaw, as we agreed, and the firmest guarantee of all the rest.

Written on August 11, 1920

First published in part in 1934 in the book: K. Danishevsky, S. Kamenev, *Vospominaniya o Lenine* (Recollections of Lenin), Moscow

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

652
TO N. N. KRESTINSKY

11. VIII. 1920

Comrade Krestinsky

Comrade Shapovalov (Alexander Isidorovich) is one of the old Party comrades. A Petrograd worker.

I knew him very well in the Party while still abroad, where he always worked like a cart-horse.

* Transmitted by direct line in code.—*Ed.*

Now *he is ill. He is badly in need* of extra nourishment. Cannot it be arranged for him to use the Kremlin dining-room? I earnestly request this and a ration (increased) for him, and help of every kind.

Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

653

TO N. N. KRESTINSKY[429]

11. VIII. 1920

Comrade Krestinsky,

Comrade *Lao*, Chairman of the Union of Chinese Workers in Russia, needs to confer with you on a number of questions. Will you please give him this possibility.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

654

TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS[430]

Narrow Council.

Please consider the request (§b in the Orgbureau *partly*). It should be complied with *to a certain extent*, for the struggle against illiteracy is a task *more important than any other*.

Lenin

Written in August, not earlier than 11, 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

655

TO D. I. KURSKY

Comrade Kursky,

Who is it publishes so badly?[431]
Chaos. Even the heading is not clear.
A collection of trivia—and of proclamations.
Who edited it—some stupid person or a saboteur?
The most important legislation *in force* now, 1920, ought to be published in a similar volume.

Lenin

Written in August,
not later than 12, 1920

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

656

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

Should not Smilga be told that it is necessary (after the harvesting) to take into the army *absolutely all* adult men?
He should.
With Budyonny moving to the south, it is necessary to *strengthen* the north.

Written on August 12, 1920

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

657

TO N. N. KRESTINSKY[432]

Comrade Krestinsky,

Is it not possible somehow to make a check through a *strict* commission? Voznesensky was working effectively.
Is there not some irregularity about his removal? personal? squabbling?

Lenin

12/8. 1920

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

658

TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Zinoviev
Smolny
Petrograd

Krzhizhanovsky reports that the Chairman of the Housing Committee for the Poor, at No. 15, Alexandrovsky Prospekt, Petrogradskaya Storona, is threatening Professor Heinrich Graftio, who occupies flat No. 3, with house-searches and confiscation of his property.

Graftio is a respected professor, who is on our side. He must be protected against the arbitrary action of the Chairman of the Housing Committee for the Poor. Please report fulfilment.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on August 13, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the text in Fotieva's handwriting signed by Lenin

659

LETTER TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND A TELEGRAM TO L. B. KAMENEV

14. VIII. 1920

Comrade Chicherin,

I hope you will fully inform Kamenev of *all* the facts showing that France and Daszynski *are torpedoing the meeting* in Minsk?[433]

This is essential. Very, very much so.

Danishevsky must be told that he should begin with a **solemn** declaration of

(a) independence and sovereignty
(b) a frontier giving **more** than Curzon's[434]
(c) no indemnities. Isn't that so?

In reply to Kamenev's request I am sending you for coding:

To Kamenev in code

In my opinion, the whole point is that France and Daszynski are torpedoing the actual meeting in Minsk. They will probably also prevent the armistice. I am hoping that Britain will be unable to fight, and without her everything falls to the ground. There is practically no news from Poland. The little there is confirms our decision at the C.C. plenum, namely, extreme vigilance, and we are bound to win this campaign. That we have roused the workers—this is already no small gain. *Lenin*.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

P.S. Britain is trying to prove that *we* are torpedoing the meeting. **All** the documents must be sent urgently to Kamenev.

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

660

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

The Commander-in-Chief dare not fret. If the *military* department or the Commander-in-Chief *does not reject* the idea of capturing Warsaw, we must *capture it* (what extra measures for this? tell me).

To talk of *expediting* the armistice when the enemy is *attacking*, is idiocy.

Once the Poles have gone over to an offensive along the *entire* line, one should not whimper (like Danishevsky) for that is ridiculous.

A *counter-move* should be devised: military measures (enveloping, dragging out *all* negotiations, etc.).

Written in August, not earlier than 14, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

661

TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF HEALTH RESORTS AND SANATORIA OF THE CAUCASUS

17. VIII. 1920

Please do everything to help provide the best accommodation and treatment for the bearer,

Comrade Inessa Fyodorovna Armand, with her sick son.

Please afford these Party comrades, who are personally known to me, complete trust and every assistance.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

662

TELEGRAM TO K. KH. DANISHEVSKY

Danishevsky

It is ridiculous to complain of the enemy's perfidy while there is still no armistice. Keep cool and absolutely firm, not yielding one iota, until the Poles show they seriously want peace.

Lenin

Written on August 17, 1920
Sent to Minsk

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

663

TELEGRAM TO I. T. SMILGA

In code

Smilga

The offensive of the Poles makes it very important for us to increase our pressure, if only for a few days. Do everything possible. If you consider it useful, issue an order to

the troops telling them that by a tenfold effort now, they will ensure for Russia favourable terms of peace for many years.

Lenin

Written on August 18, 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

664

TELEGRAM TO I. T. SMILGA

19/VIII.

SmiIga
Minsk

Comrade Trotsky will inform you in detail of the decision of the Politbureau,[435] from which you will learn that we fully share your view. It is essential to strain all efforts so that the Byelorussian workers and peasants, even if in bast shoes and unclothed, but immediately, with revolutionary speed, would give you three and four times as many reinforcements.

Further, agitation from aeroplanes for the Polish workers and peasants, to the effect that their capitalists are preventing peace and are condemning them to needless bloodshed, should be increased tenfold.

Lenin

Written on August 19, 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the typewritten copy

665

TELEGRAM TO KARL RADEK

Please dispatch **in code**

Smilga *for Radek*

We shall take your considerations into account. Since you are going to see Dzerzhinsky, please insist on ruthless crushing of the landowners and kulaks as quickly and energetically as possible, as also on real help for the peasants

by giving them land and forests of the Polish gentry. Report in more detail, check locally.

Written on August 19, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51
Printed from the original

666

TELEGRAM TO V. P. ZATONSKY

Please dispatch
to Zatonsky
in code

(Sklyansky knows the address and code)

Let us know in greater detail what you are doing to raise the Galician peasants. Armaments have been sent to you. Are they sufficient? Crush the Polish landowners and the kulaks ruthlessly so that the farm hands, and the mass of the peasants, feel there has been a sharp turn in their favour. Are you using aeroplanes for agitation?[436]

Lenin

Written on August 19, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51
Printed from the original

667

TO M. N. POKROVSKY

Comrade *Pokrovsky*

1) What is the *legal* status of Proletcult?[437]
2) *What* is the nature of its leading centre and 3) *by whom* was it appointed?
4) How is it financed by the People's Commissariat for Education?
5) Anything else of *importance* about the position, role and results of the work of Proletcult.

Lenin

Written in August, not later than 20, 1920
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

668

TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE

All in code

Orjonikidze

We have passed a decision through the Politbureau today for you to go without fail to Rostov for closest participation in liquidating the landings in the Kuban and Black Sea area.[438] Strain every effort and push this on, report to me more frequently. Get someone to take your place in Baku. Another request: don't forget you promised me to arrange for treatment for Inessa Armand and her sick son, who left on August 18; they are, probably, already in Rostov.

Lenin

Written on August 20, 1920

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

669

TELEGRAM TO KARL RADEK, F. E. DZERZHINSKY AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLISH CENTRAL COMMITTEE

In code

Smilga

for Radek, Dzerzhinsky and all members of the Polish C.C.

If in Seidlitz Gubernia land-hungry peasants have begun to seize the landed estates, it is absolutely essential to publish a special decision of the Polish Revolutionary Committee making it obligatory to give part of the landed estates to the peasants and at all costs to ensure concord between the land-hungry peasants and the farm hands. Please reply.

Lenin

Written on August 20, 1920

First published in part in 1938 in the journal *Bolshevik* No. 2

Published in full (in facsimile) in 1951 in the book: *Felix Edmundovich Dzerzhinsky. 1877-1926*, Moscow

Printed from the text

670

TELEGRAM TO L. B. KAMENEV AND A NOTE TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Kamenev in code

It is hardly likely that we shall capture Warsaw soon.* The enemy there has built up strength and is attacking. Obviously, Lloyd George is deliberately dividing up the roles with Churchill, using pacifist phrases to conceal the real policy of the French and Churchill and duping the Henderson-and-Co. fools. Do your utmost to bring this home to the British workers; write articles and theses for them yourself, teach Marxism concretely, teach them to make use of the leftward swings of the Hendersons, teach them agitation among the masses—that is your main task. Lloyd George has been duping us with pacifism and has helped Churchill to land assistance for the Poles in Danzig. That is the essence of the matter. Maintain contact with the Rumanian Ambassador.

*Lenin***

Comrade Chicherin,

Send it if you have no objection. If you have, we'll talk it over on the telephone.

Lenin

Written on August 20, 1920
Sent to London

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

671

NOTE TO THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH DRAFT OF A TELEGRAM TO V. S. MICKIEWICZ-KAPSUKAS[439]

I propose replying:

The present moment is definitely unsuitable, while we are retreating from Warsaw. Send the most detailed and

* The word "soon" is in Chicherin's handwriting.—*Ed.*
** The telegram is signed also by Chicherin.—*Ed.*

exact information about Lithuania over the signature of all the members of the Lithuanian-Byelorussian Central Committee and Smilga's opinion. But continue the preparatory work more cautiously and systematically.

There is agreement from three members of the *Political Bureau*.*

Lenin

Written on August 20, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

672
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

20. VIII. 1920

Comrade Zinoviev

For the Committee of the 1st State Cartographical Institute (formerly A. Ilyin's)
5, Pryazhka

Thank you very much for sending another copy of the atlas *Railways of Russia*, and please do not forget that if a new atlas is to be published giving the *new* administrative divisions, it is essential *very carefully* to collect information from the People's Commissariats about the boundaries both of the new gubernias and also of the Tatar, Bashkir and other republics, regions and communes (German, Chuvash), and others.

It is unlikely that this can be done without a commission under the Council of People's Commissars.

With communist greetings,
V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

Sent to Petrograd

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

* This sentence, the signature and the words "*on behalf of the Politbureau, Krestinsky*" were written by Lenin after receiving the agreement of the members of the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.). —*Ed.*

673

NOTE TO THE SECRETARY

Tell Chicherin,

1) In my opinion, Kamenev is right: we must send our reply *through him* (and in the negative).

2) Negotiations with Vanderlip to be begun *through Krasin*, exact *terms* to be ascertained without summoning Vanderlip here.[440]

Written in August, prior to 21, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

674

TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)

Krestinsky
for the *Orgbureau*

I agree with Krestinsky that Preobrazhensky "didn't make a success of it".

It should be more detailed, *more agitational*, with more feeling—and clearer and more business-like.

Let *Zinoviev* write it (he will be *here* tomorrow, 25/8), and the Orgbureau will correct it.[441]

Lenin

Written on August 24, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

675

TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE

Comrade Sergo,

I am sending you reports delivered to me. Return them, please, with your remarks about the facts: what is true, what is untrue.[442]

I daresay you get into a bad temper, on occasion, don't you?

You ought to get some assistants, perhaps, and direct the work more systematically.

I hope you will not take offence at my remarks and will reply frankly what you think you can straighten out and correct, and how.

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

Written in August, prior to 27, 1920

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

676

TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

27. 8. 1920

Narrow Council

In view of Comrade *Vorovsky's extremely serious* and dangerous illness (typhoid, pneumonia, etc.) please urgently authorise the issue of a large grant for treatment and a nourishing diet.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

677

TO N. N. KRESTINSKY[443]

I agree, with the obligatory addition to this conclusion ("reprimand"): *do not dare* to introduce departmental polemics, do not dare to browbeat the *Supreme Economic Council*, the *Commissariat for Food* and other People's Commissariats.

Lenin

Written on August 27, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

678

TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY

Comrade Dzerzhinsky,

I enclose a coded message from Comrade Beloborodov.[444] In my opinion the danger is immense.

I propose:

the adoption of a directive from the Political Bureau asking the Orgbureau, by arrangement with the Commissariat for Military Affairs and the Vecheka, to draw up *emergency* measures to combat the danger of a revolt and to mobilise sufficient army, Cheka and Party forces.

Please hand all this at once to Comrade *Krestinsky* (he will be away for only a few hours today) and for your part adopt *all* measures *at once*.

If we are faced with a revolt on the Kuban, *our whole policy* (which was spoken about in the C.C.) *will crash*. It is necessary, at all costs, to prevent a revolt, and not to grudge people or efforts for this. Should we not send Mantsev there?

Yours,
Lenin

Written in August, not earlier than 28, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

679

TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS[445]

Narrow Council:

It is essential to centralise and combine aid, distributing it *correctly*.

Lenin

31/8.

Written on August 31, 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

680

TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE

2/IX. 1920

Orjonikidze
Revolutionary Council
Caucasian Front

Your telegram received. There is no point in your being indignant. If X's report is false,[446] calmly write ten lines of refutation and send it to me by mail. Please add fullest details about the progress of the fight against banditry and about the arrangements you made in Kislovodsk for the Soviet functionaries of whom I spoke here to you personally.*

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

681

TO N. N. KRESTINSKY

Comrade Krestinsky,

I think the persons responsible for this waste of expensive paper and printing facilities should be *prosecuted*, fired, and arrested.[447]

Lenin

Written on September 2, 1920
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

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* See also *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, Document 464, —*Ed*.

682

INSTRUCTION ON NADEZHDA NIKULINA'S LETTER

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

Only my desperate situation compels me to trouble you with a most humble request. I am 74 years old, for 51 of them I have served my dear Moscow to the best of my strength and ability.... Knowing how crowded are the conditions in which the population is living, I met the authorities halfway and voluntarily gave up several rooms in my little house. All that remains are rooms that I need for myself or cold communicating rooms unsuitable for living in. Now they threaten to take these rooms away as well. I implore you to help me.... A few words, written by your order, will be sufficient guarantee for me.

With sincere respect,
Honoured Artist of the State Maly Theatre,
N. Nikulina

Check and phone that she is to be left in peace.

Written in September,
not earlier than 3, 1920

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

683

TELEGRAM TO THE PODOLSK UYEZD FOOD COMMITTEE

Podolsk Uyezd Food Committee
Copy to Podolsk Uyezd Executive Committee

The following petition[448] has reached me directly;

I can testify that Bogdanovo village (popularly known as Bogdanikha) is very bad off for food. Will you therefore please examine their petition without delay, and alleviate their position as much as you can, i.e., by reducing their requisition quota as far as possible.

Please notify me of your decision both in writing and by telephone message.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

6/IX. 1920

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

684

TO LYDIA FOTIEVA[449]

Lydia Alexandrovna

Read through, send on to the Science and Technology Department and *check* what has been done (a letter to him?).

Lenin

6/IX.

Written on September 6, 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

685

TO L. D. TROTSKY

Comrade Trotsky,

This was received today in reply to my night inquiry about "pseudonym" (he has been summoned to us here, and inquiries have been made of Gusev[450]... .* Gusev does not object.

But his report about a big defeat of the 13th Army is extremely alarming and extremely important.

In my opinion, it is necessary to treat this with the utmost seriousness in view of the whole situation and 1) inquire at once of the Commander-in-Chief, 2) raise this evening in the C.C. ...*

...* whether to appoint Frunze commander of the front against Wrangel and to put Frunze in at once.[451] I have asked Frunze to have a talk with you as soon as possible. Frunze says he has studied the Wrangel front, has prepared himself for that front and knows (from his experience of the Urals Region) the methods of struggle against the Cossacks.

Lenin

Written on September 8, 1920

First published in part in 1960 in the book: *Istoria grazhdanskoi voiny v SSSR. 1917-1922*, Vol. 5

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the typewritten copy

* In the typewritten copy the text is missing and the words "(torn out—impossible to establish)" are written in an unknown hand.—*Ed.*

686

TO L. D. TROTSKY

In code
9. IX. 1920

Trotsky

I consider of the utmost importance Yakovlev's proposal concerning the Crimean army which was passed on to you from Gusev. I advise that the proposal be adopted and a special check instituted, and, independently of this, an appeal-manifesto be prepared at once over the signatures of yourself, Kalinin, myself, the Commander-in-Chief, Brusilov and a number of other former generals, with precise proposals and guarantees, and also mentioning the fate of Eastern Galicia and the increasing insolence of the Poles. I request your earliest opinion, or better still your draft of the manifesto.[452]

Lenin

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

687

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO A. T. RYKOV AND A. M. LEZHAVA

Rykov
Supreme Economic Council
Lezhava
People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade

The various big timber export deals concluded by our London Trade Delegation are of great political and economic importance. They virtually break the blockade. The most serious attention, therefore, should be given to the precise and careful execution of these contracts, in accordance with the terms agreed on. Please give immediately all the relevant instructions along these lines and establish effective control over their implementation.

At the same time there is obvious need for increasing our export stock to the utmost, primarily by stepping up the procurement of timber for export. In order to make the latter a priority job, please draft and submit to the Council of People's Commissars as soon as possible a decree on the measures that should be adopted, indicating among them the organisation of control over the bodies in charge of the procurement of raw materials for export.[453]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on September 10, 1920
Published on September 18, 1920 in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* No. 207

Printed from the text in an unknown handwriting signed by Lenin

688
TO I. G. RUDAKOV

Comrade *Rudakov*, Manager of the Fuel Department of the Petrograd Commune
Petrograd
Copy to the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet

Please supply firewood to the Commission for Improving Scientists' Living Conditions.

If there is any disagreement as to the amount due to them or any objections, please drop me a line.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on September 10, 1920
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the typewritten copy

689

TELEGRAM TO V. Y. CHUBAR AND V. N. KSANDROV

By direct line

Chubar
Ukrainian Industrial Bureau
and Ksandrov
Central Administration of the Donets Coalfields

On 10/IX, the Council of Defence resolved to pass a strict reprimand on the Ukrainian Industrial Bureau and the Central Administration of the Donets Coalfields for failing to supply information: 1) in reply to the inquiry of the Chief Coal Committee dated 20/VIII, 2) —of the Council of Labour and Defence dated 4/IX, and to warn them that if a satisfactory reply is not given at once, more serious penalties will be meted out to the entire personnel of these institutions.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

Written on September 13 or 14, 1920

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the text in Fotieva's handwriting signed by Lenin

690

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE CAUCASIAN FRONT

R.M.C., Caucasian Front

The Council of Labour and Defence has resolved to pass a strict reprimand on the Revolutionary Military Council of the Caucasian Front for non-fulfilment of the decision of the Council of Labour and Defence dated 25/VI and of the order of the Field Headquarters of the Republic dated 5/VII,[454] and to warn the members of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Caucasian Front that if they do not

strain all efforts to fulfil the decisions indicated, they will be arrested and prosecuted.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

Written on September 13 or 14, 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the text in Glyasser's handwriting signed by Lenin

691
TO V. A. AVANESOV[455]

Order an investigation, with the addition of army Communists, by agreement with Sklyansky, and provide Communists yourself (and drop me a line).

Written on September 14, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51
Printed from the text in the secretary's handwriting

692
TO M. I. KALININ

16. IX. 1920

Comrade Kalinin

Comrade Kalinin,

Comrade Ilyin asks that he and his family should be left in *his old rooms* in the former *Metropole Hotel* until the spring,

because the doctors certify that his wife and children are very ill and require the best possible position and conditions during an operation to be undergone in the winter.

Knowing Comrade Ilyin since before the revolution, from abroad, I earnestly request you to help him arrange this.

Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51
Printed from the original

693

TO A. M. LEZHAVA[456]

Comrade Lezhava

(After conferring with Sklyansky, a decision must be arrived at as quickly as possible and measures taken.)

Lenin

16/IX

P.S. Such documents should be sent *direct* to the Commissariat for Foreign Trade, to avoid loss of time.

Written on September 16, 1920

First published in part on November 24, 1963, in *Pravda* No. 328

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

694

TO A. M. LEZHAVA

Comrade Lezhava 20. IX. 1920

Comrade Lezhava

You should *urgently* see Zimmerman and raise the following in the Politbureau:

Platten through his courier (Zimmerman, a Communist from Switzerland, who is now here and leaves *tomorrow*, 21/IX) asks

for his mandate as trade representative of the R.S.F.S.R. in Switzerland to be continued and confirmed, as this

1) will help him, Platten, to be released from prison (he has *already* begun to serve his 6-month sentence) *ahead of time*;

2) will strengthen his position in the communist movement.

Platten must be helped with *money*: he is in dire straits.

Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

695

MARKINGS ON S. S. KAMENEV'S REPORT AND A NOTE TO G. V. CHICHERIN

...

2) The limit of territorial concessions on our part can be the frontier along the river Shara, the Oginsky Canal, the rivers Yaselda and Styr and further along the state frontier between Russia and Eastern Galicia. Shifting our frontier still more to the east would create extremely difficult strategic conditions for us, depriving us of such important railway junctions as Baranovichi, Luninets, Sarny and Rovno. Moreover, the state of our armies and the strategic position in general do not call for such a big sacrifice....

Comrade Chicherin,

This is the frontier—maximum. Adopted in the C.C: It must be repeated exactly.[457]

Lenin

Written on September 23, 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

696

TELEGRAM TO A. A. JOFFE

Today in code to Joffe on behalf of the C.C. plenum.

For us, the crux of the matter is: first, that we have an armistice in a short time; second, and this is the main thing, that we have a real guarantee of real peace within 10 days. Your task is to ensure this and check on the reality of the guarantee of actual fulfilment. If you do ensure this, give the maximum concessions up to the line along the river Shara, the Oginsky Canal, the rivers Yaselda and Styr and further along the state frontier between Russia and Eastern Galicia. If, however, in spite of all our efforts and concessions this can in no way be ensured, then your only task is to expose the delay of the Poles and definitely prove to us the inevitability of a winter campaign.

Written on September 23, 1920

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

697

TO G. V. CHICHERIN[458]

Comrade Chicherin,

It is necessary:

1) To put before the C.C. another draft of a **precise** decision: the C.C. prohibits acting in such-and-such a way, and demands so-and-so.

2) To lodge a protest against each violation concretely.

3) To put through the C.C. the appointment of a responsible person (not a very "high" one).

Otherwise the result is nothing but grousing.

Lenin

Written in September, not earlier than 24, 1920

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

698

TO S. I. GILLERSON

Very urgent

Gillerson
Prague

Publish at once in the press and inform the Congress of the Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Party[459] that Franz Benes's mention of a talk alleged to have taken place with me on the possibility or impossibility of a proletarian dictatorship in Czechoslovakia is a lie from beginning to end and that not only did I never talk with him but I have never even seen him. It goes without saying that my opinion of Bela Kun and of the Hungarian Revolution, as quoted by Benes, is just as foul a lie.

Lenin

Written on September 25, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the typewritten copy

699

TO N. A. SEMASHKO

Comrade Semashko

Please allow Lyubov Isaakovna *Axelrod* (*Orthodox*) to remain in Clinic No. 2 (No. 5, Third Neopalimovsky Pereulok) the whole winter, giving her a comfortable room.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Comrade Semashko,

Drop me a line about how she is fixed up. She must be given assistance.

Yours,
*Lenin**

Written on September 25, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the typewritten text, added to and signed by Lenin

700

TO THE SIBERIAN REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

Comrade I. N. Smirnov,

I am sending you for consideration the following points.[460] Drop me a line about them.

Yours,
Lenin

1. Attention to be paid to the rural poor of Siberia, who are to be supplied with food from the local requisition quotas.
2. Tar production to be organised in Siberia, enlisting the local Soviets and the population
(local tar production).

---

* The additional text from "Comrade Semashko,..." to the end is in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

3. The peasants obtain a pood of wheat and mill it into the finest flour, getting 18-20 pounds. It would be better to mill into simple flour, the peasants will agree to this.

4. Special attention to be paid to the village blacksmiths' shops for repairs to agricultural machinery. Charcoal to be supplied to them.

Is it true that there have been instances in Siberia of butter being used to grease carts (instead of tar)?

Lenin

26. IX. 20

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

701

NOTE TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY AND MARKINGS ON *BULLETIN* No. 5 OF THE STATE COMMISSION FOR THE ELECTRIFICATION OF RUSSIA[461]

Comrade *G. M. Krzhizhanovsky*

Gleb Maximilianovich,

Please return this to me, after reading pp. 20-21, with a couple of words.

Yours,
Lenin

... Undoubtedly, in the early stages we, as is done nowadays in all Europe and America, have to pay particular attention to the rational utilisation of the already existing electro-technical equipment. At the present time, the accelerated setting in full motion of our main existing power stations, the combined work of a group of stations, and the rational use of the electrical networks, may have an importance which it is difficult to overestimate. N.B.

Recently, throughout the provinces, we observe a widespread tendency towards the construction of new small stations, particularly in those cases where it is possible to use some kind of water power. However vital this trend may be, we should not forget that from the point of view of expediency in the matter of electrification only big district power stations are a decisive factor.... N.B.

... At present three-quarters of the work is finished, and in the middle of July we shall start on a final summary for presenting a report on the matter to the Council of People's Commissars. Only when this work is completely finished, will I be able to give you a more concrete account of what we mean when we speak of the electrification of agriculture, industry and transport in Russia, having in view a definite sequence of works embracing, approximately, the period of the next ten years.

G. Krzhizhanovsky

This is where the question arises: up to now, in all five numbers of the *Bulletin*, we have had only *long-term* "schemes" and "plans", but *nothing immediate*.

What exactly (**precisely**) is lacking for "*accelerating the setting in motion of the existing power stations*"?

This is the crux. Yet there is not a word about this.

What is lacking? Workers? Skilled workers? Machinery? Metal? Fuel? Anything else?

A "*plan*" to obtain **everything** that is lacking must be drawn up and published *at once*.

Lenin

26/IX.

Written on September 26, 1920

First published: the note—on January 21, 1927, in *Pravda* No. 17; the markings—in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

702
TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV

27. IX. 1920

Comrade Bryukhanov,

I am sending you two documents. Will you please read them and return *both to me*:

1) About *Ivanovo-Voznesensk* Gubernia.

We shall raise it in the Council of Defence on 29. IX.[462] It is necessary to pay the most serious attention and to try to meet their requests in the greatest possible degree.

2) About *Tambov* Gubernia.

Pay attention. Is the requisition quota of **11** million poods correct? Should it not be cut down?

With communist greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV* — Printed from the original

703

NOTE TO THE SECRETARY

Ask for information about the circumstances of the loss of *Pinsk*, including that of staffs and materiel.[463]

Was the danger known beforehand?

Written in September, not earlier than 28, 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV* — Printed from the original

704

TO N. N. KRESTINSKY

Comrade Krestinsky,

I think we should get a decision passed through the Orgbureau, and instruct the Revolutionary Military Council to regularise it, that special agents of the Food Commissariat are *included as members* of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the fronts with the right to vote on questions concerning the Food Commissariat.

Lenin

Written in September, not later than 29, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51 — Printed from the original

705

TO N. I. BUKHARIN[464]

Bogdanov has fooled **you** by disguising (verkleidet) an old dispute and trying to *shift it onto a different plane*. And you are taken in by it!

Written between September and December 1920

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XII* — Printed from the original

706
TO L. D. TROTSKY

Secret
1/X. 1920

Comrade Trotsky,

I enclose herewith information from Comrade Sklyansky.[465]

It appears that the offensive against the Crimea has been put off until 27/X!!!

Is there a decision of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic on this???

The Commander-in-Chief boasted to me that by October 10 (or 8) he would have *everything* ready for the offensive. Does this mean he lied?

When was it decided to send Budyonny *there*? Why, *even without him forces three times as large were promised*.

Finally, if the old plan is to be changed *at all*, is it not enough to give 1 division?

It turns out that *all* the calculations of the Commander-in-Chief are not worth a damn and *are changed weekly* like those of an ignoramus! Extremely dangerous vacillations!

Lenin

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from
the typewritten copy

707
TO V. M. SVERDLOV

Comrade *Sverdlov*

Alexei Andreyevich Preobrazhensky is an old Party functionary who has worked on the railways for more than 20 years. At the present time he is Chief of the Administrative Service of the Samara-Zlatoust Railway. He is now 57-58 years old. He is extremely overworked and ill and needs

a lengthy rest and treatment. Please give him 3 months' leave with pay and rations.

His address: Samara railway station.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on October 1, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51
Printed from the typewritten text signed by Lenin

708

TO L. D. TROTSKY

Comrade Trotsky,

I think that both *Kamenev* and *Zinoviev* should be sent *immediately* to the Southern Front (and particularly to the *1st Mounted Army*). The aim—*to inspect political work, step it up and revitalise* it, *to accelerate* the whole tempo. Otherwise we shall not overcome the present mood.

Lenin

2/X.

Written on October 2, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51
Printed from the original

709

TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS[466]

Narrow Council:

It should not be given at all, in my opinion, for Headquarters of the R.M.C. of the Western Front *can* (and should) be accommodated *in other buildings*, even if a bit crowded.

Lenin

3/X.

Written on October 3, 1920
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

710

TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV[467]

4/X.

Comrade Bryukhanov,

1) The description relates to the period of the landing. After it was liquidated the feeling and the state of affairs changed completely as, incidentally, Lander told me yesterday.

2) Lander also tells me that precisely now, after the successful suppression of a number of revolts (connected with the landing), grain collection (chiefly in the Kuban area, where there is plenty of grain) has gone forward and will go forward.

3) In Lander's opinion, we can take there *more than* the estimated requisition quota.

Draw Frumkin's attention to this in a confidential *letter* (not a telegram) to him. We must make the most of this opportunity, not lose time (it will be worse later), and apply our efforts to the Kuban.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on October 4, 1920

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

711

TO A. I. RYKOV[468]

Comrade Rykov,

I think we should try bargaining, but concede in the end (through the C.P.C.). Bargaining point: redemption before expiry, after *30 years*, at a *heightened* valuation of their expenditure and labour.

Lenin

6/X.

You will concede a 50-year period for the concession.

Written on October 6, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

712

TO N. N. KRESTINSKY

6. X. 1920

Comrade Krestinsky,

Please raise the question in the Orgbureau. I think more should be issued *for the sick* by way of special diet and a decision adopted to improve it,

by setting up a medical commission.

For scorbutics and other patients, I think, we should at once allow purchases to be made on the free market, subject to certain rules (perhaps also a commission and with the co-operation of the state farms).

Regarding the protest of the Petrograd Central Committee, I propose that votes be collected. I vote for:
1) mobilising Zinoviev;
2) cancelling general mobilisation of men.

Lenin

First published in part in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51
Printed from the original

713

TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)

8. X. 1920

Orgbureau of the Central Committee

In the resolution of the Orgbureau of 7.X (No. 59, point 3),
sub-point *b* reprimands Comrade *Bonch-Bruyevich* for impermissibly approaching me on this and "similar petty questions".
I request that this sub-point be cancelled

for when visiting the Kremlin hospital I *personally* heard the *doctors* mention the shortage of food for the patients and I *myself* asked the *doctors* to give me, through Bonch-Bruyevich, their written proposal
on better feeding of the patients, etc.
Consequently, there was not even an "*approach*" to me here on the part of Comrade Bonch-Bruyevich.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

714
TO TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY

In code

Trotsky only

In view of the whole situation on the Polish front and in connection with it, particularly following my night conversation with Joffe, who energetically assures us of his own, and our military expert's, conviction that the Poles, in point of fact, will not be able to prevent the armistice (by threatening a break, Joffe compelled the Poles to abandon the demand for a definite amount of gold. Joffe says: the Poles are afraid of a break even more than we are), the Politbureau of the Central Committee instructs the military authorities to incur a certain amount of risk and take some units from the South-Western Front for the speediest and surest liquidation of Wrangel.

On behalf of the Politbureau,
Lenin

Written on October 10, 1920
First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

715

TO N. I. BUKHARIN[469]

Why *now* dwell on the differences between us (perhaps possible ones), if it suffices to state (and prove) *on behalf of the Central Committee as a whole*:

(1) proletarian culture = communism

(2) is carried out by the R.C.P.

(3) the proletar.-class = R.C.P. = *Soviet power*.

We are all agreed on this, aren't we?

Written on October 11, 1920

First published in 1958 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 1

Printed from the original

716

TO A. M. HELLER

Comrade Heller,

Obtain for me *without fail* Trèves's speech, quoted here (pagina *3*).[470]

Collect *all* the material and translate *the gist* in order *to prove every* proposition of the Turin programme. *To prove* it.

Greetings,
Lenin

Written between October 11 and November 4, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

717

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

12. X. 1920

Comrade Bonch-Bruyevich,

Please ask the appropriate institutions and authorities to provide housing (warm) and dinners for Comrade *Teodorovich* and his family, who have arrived from Siberia.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

FROM MARX TO MAO

718

PROPOSAL TO THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE SITUATION IN ARMENIA[471]

I propose that the Politbureau endorse all **three** of Chicherin's proposals.

Lenin

NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

Written on October 12 or 13, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

719

TO N. N. KRESTINSKY[472]

Krestinsky

I propose that Manuilsky should be *compelled* to see the *best* doctors (send them to him) for diagnosis and *serious* treatment.

Lenin

Written in 1920, after October 12

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

720

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)[473]

Members of the Politbureau

I think we should agree with the Commander-in-Chief, adding: until the armistice becomes an actual fact.

Lenin

13/X.

Written on October 13, 1920
First published in 1961 in the book: *Iz istorii grazhdanskoi voiny v SSSR*, Vol. 3

Printed from the original

721

TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY

14/X.

Gleb Maximilianovich,

I am sending Nikolayev's reply.

Tomorrow Botin should arrive and I will send him to you.

In view of Nikolayev's doubts and suspicions, things with Botin should be put on a precise and formal basis: i.e., either you say, "it is not worth trying". Then we shall put an end to it all. Or you say, "it is worth while trying again". Then Botin is delegated to you and you give him an *exact* assignment, place him in *exact* working conditions, under *exact control*. (Cannot he be made to write in detail, in great detail, about the Tiflis experiment?)

Yours,
Lenin

Written on October 14, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

722

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)[474]

Members of the C.C.:

I emphatically disagree with this project. Changing names is a harmful game.

In fulfilment of the decision of the Ninth Congress (I enclose the text of the decision), it is necessary, in my opinion, to set up a *permanent inter-departmental commission* of the Council of Labour and Defence, under my chairmanship (if the comrades do not object). That is quite sufficient.

Lenin

15/X.

Please return to me with indications as to who has read it.

Lenin

15/X.

Written on October 15, 1920
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

723

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY[475]

Comrade Sklyansky,

Give the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic an instruction or, rather, a definite order to *achieve rapid and complete liquidation*. Let me know what measures have been taken.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

15/X.

Written on October 15, 1920
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
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724

TO THE STAFF OF THE CEMENT WORKS AT SHCHUROVO STATION

16. X. 1920

Cement Works
Shchurovo Station

I congratulate the workers and other employees of the works that has been put into operation. I hope that by energetic work you will succeed in restoring and surpassing the former output. I ask the Works Committee and the Communist cell to send me, after a month or two, a report on the progress of the work.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

725

TO THE PRINTING AND PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT OF THE SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL

Copy to the *Pravda Printing-Press*.*

Please inform me how you account for such bad printing of *Pravda* as No. 231 for 16/X, enclosed herewith. Since I shall be raising this question in the Council of People's Commissars, I ask you to supply me urgently with information as to what measures you are taking and what guarantees there are for an improvement of the present position.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on October 16, 1920

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the typewritten text, added to and signed by Lenin

* This line is in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

726

TO S. P. SEREDA

Comrade Sereda,

Please give me your comments.[476]

It is essential, as a matter of the greatest urgency, to prepare *a plan for a tractor campaign*.

1) Purchase abroad
2) Production in Russia
3) Technicians—
workers, etc.

Be sure to let me know in a day or so, when you will present a preliminary memorandum. (Should not a conference be convened at once?)

Lenin

19/X.

Written on October 19, 1920

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

727

TO V. S. KORNEV

Comrade Kornev, Commander of the Internal Security Troops of the Republic
Copy to Comrade Dzerzhinsky

Comrade Schlichter informs me of an increase of the revolt in Tambov Gubernia, and the weakness of our forces, particularly the cavalry.

Speediest (and exemplary) liquidation is absolutely essential.*

Please inform me what measures are being taken. More energy should be displayed and greater forces assigned.

Vl. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on October 19, 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the typewritten copy

* See also this volume, Document 723.—*Ed.*

728

F. E. DZERZHINSKY

Urgent

Comrade Dzerzhinsky

Bandits have seized the *Boldyrev* (Rasskazovo) factories (*Tambov* Gubernia).

It is an absolute scandal.

I propose that the Chekists (and the Gubernia Executive Committee people) of Tambov Gubernia who were caught off their guard

1) be court-martialled,

2) that Kornev be severely reprimanded,

3) that extremely energetic people be sent there at once,

4) that a severe trimming and instructions be given by telegraph.

Lenin

Written in October, after 19, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

729

TO A. M. LEZHAVA AND M. N. POKROVSKY

Comrades Lezhava and M. N. Pokrovsky

I insist that this matter be speeded up *to the utmost* and a draft decision be submitted to the C.P.C. on *Tuesday* (26.X):

1) to decide on the sale of these articles abroad as quickly as possible;

2) to require from the People's Commissariat for Education an official reply *before Tuesday*, 26/X, as to whether they have any objection (it is said they have *already* picked out articles for our museums: I agree to let them have only the *strictly* necessary minimum);

3) to send abroad at once a special commission of experts+traders, promising them a *good* bonus for a speedy and profitable sale;

4) as I find the work excessively slow (8 *out of* 33*), I consider it absolutely necessary to *increase* the personnel of the *commission of experts* (Gorky suggests *up to 200* persons) and to give them *rations* on condition that the work is completed quickly.[477]

Lenin

21/X.

Written on October 21, 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

730
TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV

21. X. 1920

Comrade Bryukhanov

The Stavropol peasants (who have brought grain for the children) complain that they are not getting from the co-operatives

wheel-grease (the stores have it),

matches

and other goods.

The herrings were allowed *to go bad*, but they were not given out.

There is terrible discontent. The Gubernia Food Commissar says: nothing will be given until the whole requisition quota is fulfilled.

They insist on the need for goods *to be issued immediately*.

They say that the quota of 27 million poods is excessive, *seed corn* is being taken, and there is bound to be undersowing.

Stavropol Gubernia—average harvest (27).

Kuban—better than Stavropol (37 million poods).

Please examine it **urgently**, especially the first point, and give me your opinion not later than tomorrow.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

* See Note 358.—*Ed.*

Address: Kazan (railway station), goods station, truck No. *506955* on the Krivoi track, *Petrov* from the Gubernia Party Committee.

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731

TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS[478]

Please go into this matter *as quickly as possible*. It is evident from the enclosed that the instruction of the *Food Commissariat* (of the centre) puts these products *at the disposal of the Commission for Improving Scientists' Living Conditions*. Hence, *without the consent of the centre*, Petrograd has no right to requisition them or take them into account!

Lenin

21/X.

Written on October 21, 1920

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

732

TO THE STATE PUBLISHERS[479]

21/X.1920

1) The first is amateurish. Klein is a good book, more are needed.

2) The second (Brodsky). An unnecessary and untimely undertaking.

A. I. Rykov has been informed of a number of the worst mistakes, etc.

First published in part in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Published in full in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original

733

TO G. V. CHICHERIN[480]

Comrade Chicherin,

An *official* Note must *certainly* be sent on this and all similar cases.

Circularise all representatives of the R.S.F.S.R. abroad to this effect.

Lenin

25/X.

Written on October 25, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

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734

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO A. M. LEZHAVA, F. F. SYROMOLOTOV AND S. M. FRANKFURT

Comrades Lezhava
Syromolotov
Frankfurt

Please make use of Comrade Frankfurt's presence in Moscow to arrange for a meeting to discuss the situation in the gold-mining industry in Siberia and measures for developing it.

Please give me the conclusions of the meeting for referring the matter to the Council of People's Commissars or deciding it by way of an agreement among the departments, etc.[481]

Lenin
Chairman, C.P.C.

27/X.

Written on October 27, 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

735

TO THE VLADIMIR GUBERNIA PARTY COMMITTEE[482]

27. X. 1920

Gubernia Party Committee
Vladimir (gubernia centre)

I certify that Comrades Ratnikov, Rybakov, Romanov and Glazunov visited me on 27. X. 1920 on behalf of the uyezd Party conference (Alexandrov Uyezd, Vladimir Gubernia) in regard to a case of flagrant Party and Soviet abuses.

I consider their approach to me quite in order and called for by the circumstances of the case and ask to be informed what general procedure you have established for members of uyezd Party organisations to approach Moscow in general and the C.C., R.C.P. in particular.

With communist greetings,
V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

736

TO THE CONTROL COMMISSION OF THE R.C.P.(B.)

Comrades Dzerzhinsky, Muranov, Preobrazhensky, and others

I earnestly request you to receive personally Comrades Ratnikov, Rybakov, Romanov and Glazunov from the uyezd Party conference (Alexandrov Uyezd, Vladimir Gubernia) about a case of *flagrant*, exceedingly glaring abuses (Soviet and Party) at the Troitsk Equipment Works, and particularly about the difficulties experienced by Party members in taking the case to the centre and getting it speedily examined if even through Party channels. Apparently—this

is my impression—there is something wrong in the Gubernia Party Committee as well. I enclose a copy of the decision of the Orgbureau.

With communist greetings,

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

Written on October 27, 1920

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the typewritten text signed by Lenin

737

TO A. I. RYKOV AND I. I. RADCHENKO

28. X. 1920

1) Comrade *Rykov* (or, if he has not yet recovered, Comrade Milyutin)
2) and Comrade *I. I. Radchenko*, *Chief Peat Committee*

Copies to: 3) R. E. Klasson (to be found through Radchenko)
4) Krzhizhanovsky, Chairman of the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia
5) Sklyansky (§ 4) and Trotsky
6) Lezhava and Lomonosov
7) the Cinema Department
8) Sosnovsky
9) Shatunovsky (Chief Transport Commission).

On 27. X. 1920, a film before a large Party audience showed the working of a new hydraulic pump (of engineer R. E. Klasson) which mechanises the extraction of peat, as compared with the old method.

In this connection, an exchange of opinions took place between engineer Klasson, Comrades Radchenko and Morozov—representatives of the Chief Peat Committee, Comrade Shatunovsky (from the Chief Transport Commission), and myself.

This exchange of opinions revealed that the heads of the Chief Peat Committee fully agree with the inventor on the great importance of this invention. In all the work for restoring the national economy of the R.S.F.S.R. and for the country's electrification, mechanisation of peat

extraction makes it possible to go ahead immeasurably more rapidly and firmly and on a broader front. It is therefore essential immediately to take a number of measures on a national scale to develop this work.

Please discuss this question immediately and give me without delay your comments (corrections, additions, counter-plans, and so on) on the following proposals arising from yesterday's preliminary exchange of opinions.

1. To regard work on applying the hydraulic method of peat extraction as of prime state importance and therefore especially urgent-To pass a decision to this effect through the Council of People's Commissars on Saturday, 30/X.

2. To instruct all chief committees (and other bodies), on whose support the successful work of the *Commission* (or committee?) *for Hydraulic Peat Extraction* (under the Chief Peat Committee) mainly depends, to delegate their representatives (preferably Communists or, in any case, people known to be conscientious and *particularly energetic*) to take a permanent part in this commission. To make them responsible, in particular, for the *speediest* fulfilment, without any procrastination, of the orders and requests of this commission. To give the Council of People's Commissars the names and addresses of these representatives.

3. The same in regard to some of the most important factories involved. List of these factories to be drawn up.

4. To instruct the *Naval* Department to have its own representative on the commission, one fully acquainted with the stocks of materials and technical facilities of this department.

5. To issue Red Army rations to the group of people on whose work the rapid and complete success of the matter directly depends, increasing at the same time their remuneration so as to enable them to devote themselves wholly and completely to their work. To instruct the Commission for Hydraulic Peat Extraction to send immediately to the People's Commissariat for Food and the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions a *list* (exact) of these people, indicating standards of remuneration, *bonuses*, etc.

6. To discuss immediately with the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade what orders should be placed at once with Swedish and German factories (perhaps engaging

there one or several prominent chemists) so that by the summer of 1921 we can receive what is necessary for the speediest and widest application of the hydraulic method. In particular, to make use of Comrade Lomonosov who is due to leave for Sweden and Germany within the next few days.

7. To instruct the *Cinema Department* (of the People's Commissariat for Education?) to arrange for the film of the hydraulic method to be shown *on a wide scale* (particularly in Petrograd, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Moscow and *peat-extraction localities*) with the simultaneous reading, without fail, of a brief and popular leaflet (ask Comrade Sosnovsky to edit it) explaining the gigantic importance of mechanising peat extraction and of electrification.

8. I fix the first report of the *Commission for the Hydraulic Method of Peat Extraction* to the Council of People's Commissars for 30. X. 1920.[483]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

P.S. Comrade Rykov, should not the question be raised of using *more* of the materials and technical facilities of the Naval Department for the needs of the production of the means of production? Why should we want new battleships and the like? Aren't they out of place just now? *Shatunovsky* (take notice of him, he is a devoted and valuable man; a *worker*, studied mathematics abroad) says (according to Sosnovsky) that in the Naval Department Trotsky discovered something like *a million poods of first-grade steel* (for battleships) and took it for the Chief Transport Commission. Check this, think it over, perhaps we shall put it before the Council of Defence or the Council of People's Commissars.

Yours,
Lenin

First published in part in 1925 in the book: G. Boltyansky, *Lenin i kino*, Moscow-Leningrad

Published in part (without the postscript) in 1934 in the book: *Lenin na khozyaistvennom fronte. Sbornik vospominanii*, Moscow

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the original; the postscript—from the text in Glyasser's handwriting

738
TELEGRAM TO M. V. FRUNZE[484]

In code
28. X. 1920

Frunze, Commander of the Southern Front
Copy to Trotsky

In reply to your No. 001/пш. I am indignant at your optimistic tone, when you yourself report that there is only one chance in a hundred that the main task, set long ago, will be successful. If things are so outrageously bad, I ask you to discuss measures of the utmost urgency for bringing up heavy artillery, for constructing lines for its transport, for getting sappers, and so on.

Lenin

First published in 1941 in the book: *M. V. Frunze na frontakh grazhdanskoi voiny. Sbornik dokumentov*

Printed from the original

739
TO P. I. POPOV[485]

1) The number of Soviet office workers.
2) By separate People's Commissariats.
3) If possible—by departments.
4) If possible—according to the main categories (experts, service personnel, clerical staff, etc.).
5) Other information (sex, etc.) depending on the kind of information in the questionnaire.

Please divide the work into two parts:
1) The briefest information (number, etc.). Not more than 4 weeks.
2) Detailed information—how many weeks?
3) The most detailed—how many weeks?

V. Lenin

30/X. 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

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740
TO S. I. BOTIN

Comrade Botin,

Please keep a record of all experiments
1) strength of the current or electrical energy,
2) where (how many sazhens off), *and in accordance* with *the plan*, the cartridges are placed, in front of the obstacle and behind it,
3) on the ground, above, below, underground (depth),
4) which ones and when were detonated,
5) the record to be signed by all three, and to be kept *by you* for handing over to me.

For each experiment a separate entry (day, hour, etc.).

Yours,
Lenin

Written in October 1920
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741
INSTRUCTION ON N. A. SEMASHKO'S TELEPHONE MESSAGE

At its sitting on October 4, the Council of People's Commissars decided to ask the Revolutionary Military Council of the Western Front to vacate the university premises in Smolensk, and direct the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic to enforce this decision by telegraph. In pursuance of the decision of the Council of People's Commissars, Comrade Sklyansky transmitted this instruction to the Revolutionary Military Council for fulfilment. Nevertheless, up to now the university premises have not been vacated by the Western Front Headquarters. In view of the extreme need of the university (of a special faculty) for premises, I am submitting a complaint to you on account of the non-fulfilment of the decision of the Council of People's Commissars and ask for categorical orders to be issued to the Revolutionary Military Council of the Western Front.

Semashko
People's Commissar for Health

Comrade Sklyansky

Carry out without delay. Report on fulfilment and I will take up the question of non-compliance and punishment in the Narrow Council.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

2/XI.

Written on November 2, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

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742

TO A. Z. GOLTSMAN

Urgent. Personal
3/XI.1920. 21. 25 hours

Comrade *Goltsman*
Copy to *Eismont*
Copy to the *Chief Clothing Board*

The Chief Clothing Board should submit for consideration by the Bonus Awards Commission the question of bonuses for the production of 20,000 pairs of hunting boots.

The question is of tremendous importance for our victory in the south, and it is most important that the boots be made quickly. I request you to look into this urgently, and to take steps to ensure that the boots are actually made in the time demanded by the Commander-in-Chief, Comrade Kamenev.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

P.S. I direct Comrade Sklyansky to control the fulfilment.*

Lenin

First published in part in 1961 in the book: *Leninskiye idei zhivut i pobezhdayut. Sbornik statei* (Lenin's Ideas Live and Triumph. A Collection of Articles)

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51

Printed from the typewritten text, added to and signed by Lenin

* The postscript is in Lenin's handwriting.—*Ed.*

NOTES

[1] Lenin's instruction was written on an order to the Red Guard Staff issued by the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. The order gave instructions for petrol, four artillery batteries, three motorcars, field telephones and cyclists or motorcyclists to be dispatched to the Pulkovo headquarters at positions near Tsarskoye Selo.

The order called for the dispatch of petrol, a motorcar, two artillery batteries, sappers for trench-digging, motorcycle or bicycle messengers and maps of the locality, to the Staff of the Izmailovo Regiment on the main road to Moscow. The Military Revolutionary Committee proposed also that "a joint staff for the operation as a whole" should be set up and food supplies organised for the Red Guard. p. 43

[2] This refers to a resolution of the Petrograd Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) on the question of setting up a "homogeneous socialist government" of representatives from various parties and organisations "from the Bolsheviks to the Popular Socialists". The demand for such a government came from the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who counted on playing the leading role in it. Their proposal had the support of some of the members of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.)—L. B. Kamenev, G. Y. Zinoviev, A. I. Rykov and their few adherents. The C.C. of the Bolshevik Party at a sitting held on November 2 (15), 1917, strongly condemned the Right-opportunist, conciliatory attitude of the capitulators (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 277-79). Apparently, this note of Lenin's was written during the sitting of the Central Committee.

The note was read out at a sitting of the Petrograd Committee of the Party. In a resolution on the current situation, the Petrograd Committee stated that the government in the proletarian republic had to be a government of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, that the task of Soviet power was to put into effect the revolutionary programme advanced by the Bolsheviks, and that any departure from it was impermissible. This resolution was sent to the Party Central Committee.

On November 3 (16), the Central Committee presented an ultimatum to the opposition minority demanding complete subor-

dination to the decisions of the Central Committee (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 280-82). The conciliators, however, refused to submit to Party discipline, and resigned from the Central Committee and the Council of People's Commissars. The Central Committee branded them as saboteurs (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 302-03). New people, loyal to the cause of the Party, were brought into the government. p. 43

[3] The letter to Y. M. Sverdlov apparently concerns F. F. Obraztsov, who had been received by Lenin as the representative from the peasants of four volosts of Tver Gubernia.

At the top of the letter, Lenin wrote the words: "First floor, room 39." This was the room in Smolny where Y. M. Sverdlov worked after his election on November 8 (21), 1917, as Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. p. 44

[4] Lenin wrote this letter because the representative of the International Association for Information of the Labour Press of America, France and Great Britain, the Rumanian journalist Nicolae Cocea, at that time in Petrograd, had requested him on behalf of the Association to reply to the following six questions: "1) Will the Government of People's Commissars continue with the same vigour its former home policy and its international efforts on behalf of peace? 2) What great reforms are being planned by the present government for establishing a socialist system in Russia? 3) After the Constituent Assembly is convened will the Government of People's Commissars be responsible to it as in constitutional states, or not? 4) Do you think that the peace Russia proposes will put an end to militarism throughout the world? 5) When and how do you intend to begin demobilising the Russians? 6) Do you think that with the present state of Europe the complete realisation of socialism is possible?"

In a letter in reply to Lenin, Nicolae Cocea assured him that his conditions in regard to the publication of his replies would be fully observed. Lenin wrote on Cocea's letter: "Reply given 10/XI. 1917." Lenin's replies to the questions put to him have not been found.

The document published here was discovered in Rumania. In 1960 the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party presented it to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. p. 44

[5] On November 22 (December 5), 1917, the Council of People's Commissars adopted a decree on courts of law, which was published the following day in the newspaper *Pravda*. On November 24 (December 7), in connection with this decree, the question of courts of law was discussed at a meeting of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The Soviet passed a resolution approving the decree and indicated practical measures for its implementation. The district Soviets were instructed to immediately begin the election of local judges. p. 45

[6] *Mensheviks*—an opportunist trend among Russian Social-Democrats, one of the varieties of international opportunism. It was

formed at the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (in 1903) out of the opponents of the Leninist *Iskra*. At this Congress the election of the Party's central bodies resulted in Lenin's supporters winning a majority (the Russian word for majority is *bolshinstvo*) and they were therefore called Bolsheviks, while the opportunists were left in the minority (in Russian *menshinstvo*) and were given the name Mensheviks.

The Mensheviks came out against the Party's revolutionary programme. They were opposed to the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution, and the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and were in favour of an agreement with the liberal bourgeoisie.

After the defeat of the 1905-07 revolution the Mensheviks wanted to liquidate the illegal proletarian revolutionary party. In January 1912, the Sixth All-Russia Party Conference expelled the Menshevik liquidators from the R.S.D.L.P.

In 1917 representatives of the Mensheviks entered the bourgeois Provisional Government, and after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution the Mensheviks together with the other counter-revolutionary parties waged a struggle against Soviet power. p. 47

[7] Lenin's name was put on the list of candidates to the Constituent Assembly from the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) by five electoral areas: Petrograd—the capital, Petrograd Gubernia, Ufa, the Baltic Fleet and the Northern Front. In addition, Lenin was nominated as the candidate to the Constituent Assembly from Moscow. The elections to the Constituent Assembly were held on November 12 (25), 1917. On November 27 (December 10) the All-Russia Committee for Elections to the Constituent Assembly requested members of the Constituent Assembly who had been returned by several areas to present a written statement indicating the area for which they accepted election. Having been elected by several areas, Lenin, too, presented such a statement. (See also *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50, Document 23.) p. 48

[8] In November and December 1917, counter-revolutionary elements in Petrograd organised the looting of liquor stores and shops.

A state of siege was declared in Petrograd. A committee to combat looting was set up under the Petrograd Soviet. G. I. Blagonravov was appointed Military Commissar Extraordinary of Petrograd to combat drunkenness and looting.

On December 5-6 (18-19), a counter-revolutionary organisation led by Constitutional-Democrats and Black-Hundred elements, which aimed at overthrowing Soviet rule and restoring the monarchy, was discovered. It allocated large sums of money for looting and provocations as one of the means of struggle, organised gangs and issued special leaflets. p. 48

[9] In December 1917, V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko left for the Ukraine to assume command of the Soviet troops fighting against Kaledin's forces. p. 49

[10] In his memorandum addressed to Lenin, A. S. Solovyov drew attention to the Ukhta oilfields and asked that an order be issued to have them inspected and exploited. He enclosed with the memo a detailed description of the qualities of the Ukhta oil based on analyses of it.

Today, the Ukhta district (Komi A.S.S.R.) has a well-developed oil industry, with enterprises for oil extraction and processing. p. 50

[11] P. A. Kozmin was then Deputy Chairman of the Special Defence Council. In his recollections entitled *V. I. Lenin i spetsialisty* (V. I. Lenin and the Experts), Kozmin quoted Lenin's note and wrote that after the discussion of the question raised in it "the commission of saboteurs was removed". p. 51

[12] On his arrival in Petrograd in December 1917, the French socialist Charles Dumas asked Lenin to receive him, mentioning that they were already acquainted. Lenin and Krupskaya met Charles Dumas in Paris, where they lived from December 1908 to June 10 (23), 1912.

During the First World War (1914-18), Dumas held social-chauvinist views, for which Lenin sharply criticised him in his work *The Collapse of the Second International* (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 209-10). p. 51

[13] On December 12 (25), 1917, the First All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets held in Kharkov proclaimed the Ukraine a Soviet Republic and elected the All-Ukraine Central Executive Committee of Soviets. In a telegram to the Council of People's Commissars on December 13 (26), the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee proclaimed the unity of interests of the peoples of the Ukraine and Soviet Russia. On December 16 (29), the Council of People's Commissars sent a telegram in reply, greeting the formation of "truly popular Soviet rule in the Ukraine" and promising "the now government of the fraternal republic full support in every way in the struggle for peace and also in the transfer of all land, factories and banks to the working people of the Ukraine".

On December 19, 1917 (January 1, 1918), the C.P.C. appointed G. K. Orjonikidze Acting Commissar Extraordinary of the Ukraine for co-ordinating the activities of Soviet organisations functioning in the Ukraine. p. 52

[14] Kuzmin and Reizon reported provocatory acts by the Ukrainian Central Rada and the counter-revolutionary command of the Rumanian Front aimed at demoralising and disarming the 8th Army.

The Ukrainian Central Rada—a counter-revolutionary bourgeois-nationalist organisation. After the victory of the October Revolution it proclaimed itself the supreme organ of the "Ukrainian People's Republic" and began an open struggle against Soviet power.

At the First All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets held in Kharkov in December 1917, the Ukraine was proclaimed a Soviet Repub-

lic. The Congress declared the power of the Central Rada overthrown. The Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. recognised the Ukrainian Soviet Government as the sole legitimate government of the Ukraine. In January 1918, Soviet troops in the Ukraine launched an offensive and on January 26 (February 8) seized Kiev and deposed the bourgeois Rada.

The Central Rada, routed and driven from the territory of the Soviet Ukraine, and having no support among the working masses, allied itself with the German imperialists in order to overthrow Soviet power and restore the bourgeois regime in the Ukraine. During the peace negotiations between the Soviet Republic and Germany, the Rada sent its delegation to Brest-Litovsk and behind the back of the Soviet delegation concluded a separate peace with Germany, by which it undertook to supply Germany with Ukrainian grain, coal and raw materials in return for military assistance in the struggle against Soviet power. In March 1918 the Rada returned to Kiev with the Austrian and German invaders and became their puppet. At the end of April the interventionists dismissed the Rada, realising that it was incapable of suppressing the revolutionary movement in the Ukraine and ensuring delivery of the required food supplies. p. 53

[15] On January 5 (18), 1918, the Constituent Assembly convened by the Soviet Government opened in the Taurida Palace in Petrograd. After the counter-revolutionary majority of the Constituent Assembly had refused to recognise the Soviet Government and its decrees, and had rejected the Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People proposed by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Bolshevik group led by Lenin walked out. Late the same night the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries also walked out. There remained in the hall only the Constitutional-Democrats, Right Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks.

By the decree of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of January 6 (19) the bourgeois Constituent Assembly was dissolved. p. 54

[16] A. I. Shingaryov and F. F. Kokoshkin, former ministers in the bourgeois Provisional Government, were arrested after the October Revolution and confined in the Peter and Paul Fortress, whence, owing to the state of their health, they were transferred to the Mariinskaya hospital. On the night of January 6 (19), 1918, they were killed by sailors, among whom were anarchists and criminal elements, who broke into the hospital.

On Lenin's instructions, an investigating commission was immediately appointed. Those guilty of the murder were arrested and tried. p. 54

[17] This refers to some sailors of the Second Guards Naval Depot, who illegally arrested three officers. Under the influence of counter-revolutionary agitation, these sailors defied the laws of the Soviet Government, went on drinking bouts, and carried out illegal searches and arrests. They were disarmed and arrested.

The other, better, part of the men went to the Southern Front, where together with the Red Army units they fought heroically against the interventionists and whiteguards. p. 55

[18] This document and the note to the secretary which follows it were written by Lenin in connection with a memorandum received from the Food and Economic Committee of the Territorial Soviet of Western Siberia and the Urals, which reported that the Omsk railway was sabotaging the dispatch of food consignments to the west, as a result of which over a thousand loaded trucks remained stationary. The committee requested the appointment of an emergency commission of investigation. This memorandum was delivered by delegates from Urals factories, who had arrived with a train-load of grain. p. 55

[19] At the time of the Communist Party's efforts to extricate Soviet Russia from the imperialist war K. Radek's standpoint was that of the "Left Communists". p. 57

[20] *The Tribunists*—members of the Social-Democratic Party of Holland whose press organ was the newspaper *De Tribune*. They constituted the Left wing of the labour movement in Holland and during the imperialist world war (1914-18) their stand was, in the main, internationalist. In 1918 the Tribunists founded the Communist Party of Holland. p. 58

[21] The same day, in accordance with Lenin's directive, orders were issued for money to be given to Luteraan to travel to Russia and join the ranks of the Red Guard. p. 58

[22] On January 16 (29), 1918, Soviet troops liberated the town of Cherkassy and Bakhmach railway junction, and mounted a successful offensive against Kiev, where the main forces of the Ukrainian Centra Rada were concentrated. p. 59

[23] This refers to the reports in the Swedish bourgeois press concerning the revolution that had started in Finland.

On January 27 (new style), 1918, the bourgeois government of Svinhufvud was overthrown and power passed into the hands of the workers. On January 29, a Finnish revolutionary government was set up—the Council of People's Representatives—which included E. Gylling, O. Kuusinen, Y. Sirola, A. Taimi and others. But the proletarian revolution was victorious only in southern Finland. The Svinhufvud government, entrenched in the north, appealed to the government of imperial Germany for assistance. Owing to the intervention of the German armed forces, the workers' revolution in Finland was crushed on May 2, 1918, after a bitter civil war which lasted for three months. A period of white terror set in in Finland and thousands of revolutionary workers and peasants were executed or tortured to death in the prisons. p. 60

[24] This document is the reply to a telegram from Arthur Henderson, who, on behalf of the British Labour Party, proposed to Lenin

that delegates should be sent from the Bolshevik Party to a conference in London of socialists of the Entente countries to be convened on February 20, 1918, with the aim of achieving a common agreement on the problems of the war. p. 60

[25] On January 28 (February 10), 1918, at the Brest-Litovsk peace conference—contrary to Lenin's directive that a peace treaty should be signed if the Germans presented an ultimatum demanding it—Trotsky declared that the Soviet Government refused to sign a peace treaty on the terms put forward by Germany, but that it considered the war at an end and was demobilising the army. The same day, without informing the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) and the Council of People's Commissars, Trotsky sent to the Headquarters of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief what was tantamount to a provocative telegram instructing him to issue an order on the night of the same day ending the state of war with Germany and her allies and demobilising the Russian army. The telegram did not mention that the peace negotiations in Brest had been broken off, the inference from its text being that the conference had culminated in the conclusion of peace. In the early morning on January 29 (February 11), Supreme Commander-in-Chief N. V. Krylenko, on the basis of Trotsky's telegram, issued an order which announced that peace had been concluded and called for the cessation of military operations on all fronts and demobilisation of the army. It was in consequence of Krylenko's order that Lenin sent this telegram and the one following it. p. 60

[26] *The First Russian Society of Communist Agricultural Workers* was organised early in 1918 on the initiative of workers at the Obukhov Factory in Petrograd. Lenin greatly assisted in its organisation. In March 1918, members of the society with their families went to Kazakhstan, where they settled and were given land to cultivate. Civil war prevented the development of the Petrograd workers' initiative. The communards failed to reap even their first harvest. Kulaks and White Cossacks attacked the commune and broke it up. p. 61

[27] The instruction was written by Lenin beneath the text of a telegram received from the Command of the Baltic Fleet. The telegram stated: "A Swedish steamer, a cruiser and a destroyer flying the Swedish naval flag, arrived off the Öland Island, landed 15 Swedish marines, and by threatening to use their arms forced our communications personnel to retreat."

Lenin simultaneously sent a telegram to the Finnish People's Government (see the document that follows). p. 63

[28] The revolutionary People's Government of Finland sent a protest to the Swedish Government in connection with the landing of their troops on the Aland Islands. Sweden shortly withdrew her troops from the islands. In mid-March 1918, German troops were landed there and were used by the German Government to fight against the Finnish revolution. p. 64

[29] This refers to General Alexeyev's letter to the French Mission in Kiev, which was intercepted in Novokhopersk. It was published on February 19, 1918, in *Izvestia* No. 28. In the letter, General Alexeyev asked the French Mission for assistance in the struggle against the Soviet state, since his troops were sustaining heavy defeats and were forced to withdraw from the Don territory. In describing the situation in the Don and Kuban regions, Alexeyev had to admit that he had been mistaken in counting on the Cossacks. "The ideas of Bolshevism," he wrote, "have found supporters among the broad mass of Cossacks." p. 65

[30] Lenin's inquiry was written in connection with the stock-taking of goods in warehouses which was being carried out by the Supreme Economic Council. In reply, Rykov informed Lenin that: 1) lists had been drawn up of goods in private, military, railway and other warehouses; 2) responsibility for guarding the stores lay with the organisations to which they belonged; goods were released from the warehouses on delivery orders issued by the appropriate central bodies (Central Committee of Textile Industry, Central Soap Board, etc.); 3) rationing and distribution by ration cards was being carried out by the town Food Committee through co-operative shops and private firms; 4) there was very little of confiscated products. p. 67

[31] This note is a reply to the following request from V. N. Podbelsky, Commissar for Posts and Telegraphs of Moscow and Moscow Region: "We have just been informed by telephone on behalf of Trotsky that Austria-Hungary is said to have declared its refusal to advance against Russia. Please contact Trotsky or one of the other People's Commissars immediately by telephone, check this information and let us know. The Soviet of Workers' Deputies is at present in session here and awaits verification of this report. At the same time obtain the latest news in general, but only authentic news, and inform us immediately. Please do this, comrade, it is very important for us." p. 67

[32] The Party Central Committee, at its meeting on February 22, 1918, discussed the question of procuring from Britain and France arms and food necessary for the defence of the Soviet Republic against the advancing German troops. This was opposed by the "Left Communists", who regarded any agreement with the imperialists as impermissible in principle.

Lenin could not attend the meeting and therefore sent his opinion to the Central Committee.

The Party Central Committee adopted a resolution recognising the need to use every means to arm and equip the Red Army, including that of obtaining armaments and equipment from governments of capitalist countries, while at the same time pursuing a fully independent foreign policy. On the same day a sitting of the Council of People's Commissars also passed a decision in favour of obtaining arms and food supplies from Britain and France (see also present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 36-39). p. 67

[33] On February 25, the Soviet delegation, which had left for Brest-Litovsk to sign the peace treaty, was delayed at Novoselye railway station, where a bridge had been blown up. Unable to get in touch directly with the German Government, the delegation wired the Council of People's Commissars requesting that the German Government be informed of the arrival of the delegation. Lenin's remark about possible waverings on the part of the delegation was apparently due to the fact that two of its members, G. Y. Sokolnikov and A. A. Joffe, had been refusing to join it, and had only set out after a decision of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.). p. 68

[34] *The Left Socialist-Revolutionaries*—the Left wing of the petty-bourgeois Socialist-Revolutionary Party, which was organised as an independent party in November 1917.

In an effort to maintain their influence among the peasants, the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries entered into an agreement with the Bolsheviks. They pledged themselves to carry out the general policy of the Soviet Government and were given posts in the Council of People's Commissars and on the boards of several People's Commissariats.

But differences with the Bolsheviks on basic issues of the theory and practice of socialist construction soon made themselves felt. In January and February 1918, the Central Committee of the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Party began a campaign against the conclusion of the Brest Peace Treaty with Germany. When the treaty had been signed and ratified by the Fourth Congress of Soviets in March 1918, the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries withdrew from the Council of People's Commissars. In July 1918 the Central Committee of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries organised the provocative assassination of Mirbach, the German Ambassador in Moscow, and launched an armed revolt against Soviet power. Having lost all support among the masses, the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Party finally took the path of armed struggle against Soviet rule. p. 68

[35] *The Sovnarkom* (Council of People's Commissars) *of the Petrograd Labour Commune* was set up by a decision of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies on March 11, 1918, owing to the Soviet Government being transferred from Petrograd to Moscow.

At the end of April 1918, the Congress of Soviets of the Northern Region established, for military and economic purposes, a Union of Communes of the Northern Region, which included also Petrograd Gubernia. On February 24, 1919, by a decision of the Third Congress of Soviets of the Northern Region, the Union of Communes of the Northern Region and the Sovnarkom which headed it, were abolished. p. 72

[36] This refers to the evacuation of industrial enterprises from Petrograd. The question was raised in connection with the advance of the German troops on Petrograd. p. 72

[37] The city Customs House was on Gutuyev Island in Petrograd. During April-June 1918, 1,180 truck-loads of various goods were evacuated from the Gutuyev Customs House. p. 72

[38] This refers to a resolution passed by the Central Executive Committee of Siberian Soviets in connection with the landing of Japanese troops in Vladivostok on the morning of April 5, 1918. It protested against the illegitimate actions of the Japanese Government; a state of war was declared in Siberia and all local Soviets were instructed to immediately step up the organisation of the Red Army.

Centrosibir—the Central Executive Committee of Siberian Soviets; was elected by the First Congress of Siberian Soviets, held in Irkutsk from October 16 (29) to October 24 (November 6), 1917. After the temporary downfall of Soviet power in Siberia (in the summer of 1918) Centrosibir ceased its activity. p. 75

[39] This refers to the Soviet Government's talks with representatives of the U.S.A., Britain and France in connection with the landing of Japanese troops in Vladivostok; the talks took place on the evening of April 5, 1918.

The Soviet Government's communique on the landing of Japanese troops in Vladivostok, written on April 5 and published in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* on April 6, 1918, pointed out that resistance to the Japanese invasion and a relentless struggle against their agents and accomplices within the country was a matter of life and death for the Soviet Republic, for the working people of the whole of Russia. On April 7, 1918, Lenin sent a telegram with directives to the Vladivostok Soviet, warning that the interventionists were sure to advance and demanding that the Communists of the Far East without delay should start preparing to fight the foreign intervention (see present edition, Vol. 27, p. 226). p. 75

[40] N. N. Yakovlev, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of Siberian Soviets, informed Lenin of the measures taken to organise resistance to the Japanese interventionists in connection with the landing of their troops in Vladivostok. p. 75

[41] Lenin wrote this message on the instructions which engineer N. I. Dyrenkov, business manager of the Rybinsk Economic Council, received from the Supreme Economic Council.

Dyrenkov came to Moscow to report to the Supreme Economic Council on the work of the Rybinsk Economic Council. This report on the economic situation in Rybinsk was made at a sitting of the Board of the Supreme Economic Council on April 15, 1918; on a proposal by Lenin, it was decided to grant an immediate loan to Rybinsk. Lenin had a talk with Dyrenkov on the economic situation of the Soviet Republic, the state of industry in Rybinsk and the measures taken by the Rybinsk Economic Council. p. 77

[42] This refers to the draft Decree on the Registration of Shares,

Bonds and Other Interest-bearing Securities. The first two drafts were prepared by the Supreme Economic Council. After examining them, Lenin crossed out the first draft, edited the second, and sent it to Bogolepov and Gukovsky at the People's Commissariat for Finance. The draft, after being revised in the People's Commissariat for Finance, was re-edited by Lenin, given a heading and, on April 17, 1918, submitted for consideration to the Council of People's Commissars. The following decision on the draft was adopted: "To be referred to the People's Commissariats for Foreign Affairs and Justice for their consideration with the assistance of experts, and the conclusion to be presented to the next sitting of the Council of People's Commissars on April 18." On April 18, the decree was endorsed by the Council of People's Commissars, and on April 20 it was published in *Izvestia* No. 78. p. 78

[43] I. Y. Yakovlev established the first Chuvash school in the city of Simbirsk (now Ulyanovsk), the birthplace of Lenin. He compiled the first Chuvash alphabet and primer, and did a great deal towards educating the Chuvash people.

In reply to his inquiry Lenin received a telegram on May 4, 1918, saying that Yakovlev continued as chairman of the courses and seminary for women. p. 79

[44] Lenin's letter was due to the following circumstance. On January 4 (17), 1918, the Council of People's Commissars adopted a decree on the reorganisation of the Red Cross on the basis of the abolished Chief Board of the Red Cross that had existed under the tsarist government, making over its property and funds to the state. The work of reorganising the Red Cross was entrusted (§ 3 of Section 1 of the decree) to a committee of representatives of Soviet, military and public organisations. The committee was instructed to submit to the Council of People's Commissars through the Council of Medical Collegiums a plan for reorganising the Red Cross institutions. However, the committee failed to fulfil the tasks entrusted to it, and this was brought to the notice of Lenin by V. M. Bonch-Bruyevich, a member of the Red Cross committee. p. 79

[45] This refers to preparations for a monetary reform in order to establish a stable Soviet currency and overcome the inflation caused by the war and the economic policy of the tsarist government and the bourgeois Provisional Government. Lenin raised the question of the need for a monetary reform in December 1917 in his "Draft Decree on the Nationalisation of the Banks and on Measures Necessary for Its Implementation" (see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 393). Preparations for the monetary reform were made under the direct guidance of Lenin. He urged more speed in preparing and issuing new, Soviet currency notes, and went into all details of the proposed designs. (See this volume, documents 125 and 126, and also *Lenin Miscellany XXI*, p. 180.)

Owing to the foreign military intervention and the Civil War, and the transition to the policy of War Communism, the mone-

tary reform was not carried out in that period. The first Soviet monetary reform on the basis of Lenin's principles was effected in 1922-24. p. 81

[46] This letter is a reply to Raymond Robins, a member of the American Red Cross Mission. It was written in English. At the head of the letter, Lenin wrote: "Reply 30.IV.1918."

On the eve of his departure from Soviet Russia for the United States, R. Robins wrote to Lenin expressing sincere thanks for the assistance given him in his work for the American Red Cross Mission.

A few days later, on May 11, 1918, Lenin wrote a letter addressed "To All Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and Other Soviet Organisations", requesting them "to give every assistance to Colonel Robins and the other members of the American Red Cross Mission for their unhindered and speedy journey from Moscow to Vladivostok". p. 82

[47] Lenin wrote this letter to P. P. Malinovsky, Acting People's Commissar for the Properties of the Republic, in connection with the implementation of the decree of the Council of People's Commissars "On the Monuments of the Republic", adopted on April 12, 1918, and published on April 14 in *Pravda* and *Izvestia*. The decree set the task of removing monuments to the tsars and their servants that were of no historical or artistic value, and of erecting revolutionary monuments. A special commission, consisting of the People's Commissar for Education, the People's Commissar for the Properties of the Republic and the head of the Fine Arts Department of the People's Commissariat for Education, was instructed to determine which monuments in Moscow and Petrograd were to be removed, and advised to enlist the services of artists in designing new, revolutionary monuments. The Council of People's Commissars proposed that by May 1 the commission should have removed the ugliest monuments and submitted the first models of new monuments, and should also hasten arrangements for replacing old inscriptions, emblems and street names by new ones reflecting the ideas and sentiments of revolutionary Russia.

Lenin attached great importance to the implementation of this decree, the progress of which was discussed at the sittings of the Council of People's Commissars on July 8, 17 and 30, 1918. Lenin repeatedly criticised the heads of the People's Commissariats for Education and for the Properties of the Republic, and the heads of the Moscow Soviet, for the unsatisfactory implementation of the decree (see this volume, Document 109, and present edition, Vol. 35, documents 171 and 176, pp. 360, 368). p. 82

[48] This telegram is in reply to one from Ekaterinburg dated April 30, 1918, from the Regional Board of Nationalised Enterprises, reporting that rumours were current about the denationalisation of the Bogoslovsk mining district. Lenin attached great importance to the speedy exposure of these false rumours which could

mislead the working masses. On the telegram from Ekaterinburg, Lenin wrote the following note: "Received 2/V.1918 at *7 p.m.* I demand investigation into the reason for *two days*' delay. *Lenin*." p. 83

[49] This memorandum was adopted at a meeting of Lenin and Bolshevik members of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture in connection with the demand of Maria Spiridonova and V. A. Karelin, leaders of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, that the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries be given complete control of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture. This demand was put forward because of the appointment of more Bolsheviks (S. P. Sereda, V. N. Meshcheryakov, N. M. Petrovsky and others) to the Commissariat for Agriculture following the resignation of A. L. Kolegayev, as a result of which the position of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries in the Commissariat was considerably weakened.

Lenin wrote also the following draft decision of the meeting: "The preliminary meeting (on the questions raised by Comrades Spiridonova and Karelin) between members of the Board of Agriculture, Comrades Sereda and Meshcheryakov, and Lenin has reached the conclusion that the questions raised should be examined as serious political questions and therefore should certainly be referred to the C.C., R.C.P.

"The meeting considers it essential to refer them to the C.C. urgently and speedily" (*Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*, p. 42).

The situation in the People's Commissariat for Agriculture was discussed at a sitting of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on May 3, 1918. The Central Committee noted that the claims of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries were groundless and approved the decision of the meeting. p. 83

[50] This refers to the dismissal of the Central Rada by the German occupationists and the establishment in the Ukraine of an open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and landowners. On April 29, 1918, at a congress of kulaks and landowners in Kiev convened by the interventionists, General P. P. Skoropadsky, a big Ukrainian landowner and former aide-de-camp to the Tsar, was proclaimed Hetman of the Ukraine. p. 84

[51] On May 6, 1918, German and whiteguard army units broke into Rostov-on-Don and occupied the city. On May 7, it was liberated by Soviet troops, but on May 8 it was re-occupied by German and whiteguard troops. p. 84

[52] *Ino*—a fort on the border with Finland which, with Kronstadt, guarded the approaches to Petrograd. Under a treaty between the R.S.F.S.R. and the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic, Fort Ino was seceded to the R.S.F.S.R. for the defence of the joint interests of the Socialist Republics. After the defeat of the revolution in Finland, the Finnish bourgeois government with the support of the German imperialists demanded that Fort Ino be handed over to Finland. Before it was abandoned, the main works

of the fort were blown up by order of the Commandant of the Kronstadt fortress. In May 1918, Finnish troops occupied Fort Ino. p. 84

[53] An emergency meeting of the Party Central Committee on May 6, 1918, discussed the international situation of the Soviet Republic in connection with the aggravation of relations with Germany, who demanded that Fort Ino be handed over to bourgeois Finland, and also in connection with the British occupation of Murmansk and the preparations by the interventionist troops to advance into the interior of the country. The Central Committee adopted the decision on the international situation proposed by Lenin (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 355 and 379-80). p. 84

[54] This note is a reply to A. D. Tsyurupa, who had informed Lenin that the food organisation of the Nikolayevskaya Railway had refused to allow A. I. Svidersky, member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Food, to carry out an inspection agreed upon between the Food Commissariat, the Commissariat for Railways, and the Supreme Economic Council. Tsyurupa asked Lenin's advice as to what steps should be taken in this case. p. 85

[55] Lenin wrote this letter after a talk with the Chairman of the Purchasing Commission of the Putilov (now Kirov) Works, a plater in the boiler-shop, A. V. Ivanov, who gave a detailed description of the grave state of famine in Petrograd and told of the situation at the works and the mood of the workers.

Lenin informed Ivanov of the decree passed at the meeting of the Council of People's Commissars on May 9, 1918, giving the People's Commissar for Food emergency powers in the struggle against the rural bourgeoisie, who were concealing grain and profiteering. Lenin gave Ivanov a copy of the decree so that he could make it known to the Putilov workers.

The meeting between A. V. Ivanov and Lenin is described in the book *Vospominaniya o Vladimire Ilyiche Lenine* (Reminiscences of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin), Part 2, 1957, pp. 283-84. p. 86

[56] This refers to a meeting of the Russo-German Commission held in Moscow on May 15, 1918, to discuss the conditions for resuming economic relations between Russia and Germany. The report at the meeting was made by M. G. Bronsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Trade and Industry. The main propositions in his report had been vetted by Lenin. p. 86

[57] In a plan for the development of trade and economic relations with the U.S.A. drafted on Lenin's initiative, the Soviet Government expressed its readiness to pay for goods purchased in the U.S.A. with agricultural produce and products of the mining industry, and also to offer concessions to the U.S.A. on the same terms as to other countries.

The plan, under the heading "Russo-American Trade Relations", was first published in June 1918 in No. 1 of *Vestnik Narod-*

nogo Komissariata torgovli i promyshlennosti (Herald of the People's Commissariat for Trade and Industry). In the U.S.A., the plan was published together with Lenin's letter to Raymond Robins in the book *Russian-American Relations. March 1917-March 1920*, New York, 1920. p. 87

[58] This note to G. V. Chicherin was written following the receipt of a report that troops of the Transcaucasian bourgeois government, supported by a flotilla of armed merchant vessels, were advancing on Sukhum, creating a threat to the entire Black Sea coast. In the draft of a telegram submitted to Lenin, which was addressed to Sablin, Chief of the Naval Forces of the Black Sea Fleet, the latter was instructed to arm a number of Soviet merchant ships and send them for the defence of Sukhum.

On May 20, 1918, the Soviet Government sent a Note to the German Government protesting against the German military authorities conniving at the actions of the armed merchant ships of "the so-called Transcaucasian government, which is recognised by absolutely nobody in Transcaucasia". p. 88

[59] This refers to a draft decree for reorganising the Food Commissariat and the local food bodies. At a meeting of the C.P.C. on May 20, 1918, A. D. Tsyurupa, on Lenin's instructions, moved that the draft decree be submitted for discussion. The draft was discussed at meetings of the C.P.C. on May 22 and 23, and was adopted with amendments. It was decided to refer the decree to the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, where it was endorsed on May 27. It was published in *Izvestia* No. 109 on May 31, 1918.

Clause 3 of the decree envisaged the establishment under the local food commissariats of special detachments of workers recommended by Party and trade union organisations, formed mainly in the consuming districts. These detachments were to be at the disposal of the local food bodies and comply with their directives, and were to be employed in propaganda, organising and instructors' work. "The most important task of the workers' detachments," states the decree, "should be to organise the working peasantry against the kulaks" (*Dekrety Sovetskoi vlasti* [Decrees of the Soviet Government], Vol. 11, 1959, p. 310). p. 89

[60] In the spring of 1918 the German interventionists occupied the Ukraine, invaded the Crimea and approached Sevastopol, where the Black Sea Fleet was concentrated. On April 29-30, to save the fleet from the invaders, the Soviet Government transferred it to Novorossiisk. Ten days after the fleet's arrival there, the German Command sent an ultimatum demanding its return to Sevastopol, threatening otherwise to continue the offensive along the Black Sea coast. On May 11, the Soviet Government sent a "Protest to the German Government against the Occupation of the Crimea", stating the circumstances of the fleet's transfer and the possible conditions for its return to Sevastopol (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 358-59).

All attempts to reach an agreement with the German Government on this question were abortive. Having no possibility of saving the fleet and to avoid surrendering it to the German imperialists, Lenin issued an order to the Supreme Military Council for its immediate destruction (see the next document). A secret instruction of the Council of People's Commissars ordered the destruction of all the ships of the Black Sea Fleet and merchant steamships in Novorossiisk. On June 18-19, 1918, the order of the government was carried out: most of the ships were sunk off the Novorossiisk coast. p. 91

[61] *Arbeiterpolitik*—a weekly periodical of scientific socialism, the organ of the Bremen group of Left Social-Democrats, which in 1919 joined the Communist Party of Germany. It was published in Bremen from 1916 to 1919.

Der Sozialdemokrat—a daily newspaper, the organ of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Württemberg. It was published in Stuttgart from 1915. In 1921, it became the organ of the United Communist Party of Württemberg and was published under the title *Kommunist*. p. 92

[62] Lenin probably has in mind the letter he sent to S. G. Shahumyan on May 14, 1918 (see present edition, Vol. 35, Document 145).

Lenin's letter of May 24 was delivered to Baku by S. M. Ter-Gabrielyan, one of the leaders of the Baku Commune. p. 93

[63] This document was drawn up in the People's Commissariat for Food. At the top of the document, separated by a line, is the following inscription: ''Telegram of the People's Commissariat for Food." p. 93

[64] This refers to a decision of the Council of People's Commissars on May 8, 1918, to take stock of all available automobiles and lorries and transfer all surplus lorries to the People's Commissariat for Food. p. 97

[65] Lenin sent this telegram to the Vyksa workers in reply to one received from them which stated that they were "absolutely starving", and were going out by steamboats with their detachments and machine-guns in order to obtain grain by force. p. 97

[66] This letter was written in English during a conversation with Albert Rhys Williams, the American journalist, who visited Lenin before leaving for the U.S.A. p. 97

[67] Sokolnikov, Bukharin and Larin went to Berlin as members of the Soviet delegation to negotiate an economic agreement with Germany. p. 98

[68] Evidently this refers to Lenin's letter of June 2, 1918, to J . A. Berzin or G. L. Shklovsky (see *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50, Document 165). p. 99

[69] Lenin's notes to A. D. Tsyurupa were written in connection with the need to explain to the mass of the working people the deci-

sion on independent procurements adopted by the Council of People's Commissars on June 1, 1918. The decision pointed out that independent grain procurements, for which the Council of People's Commissars was being asked by representatives of some organisations and trade unions, could disrupt the whole business of food supply, clear the way for the kulaks and landowners, and ruin the revolution. The decision set the task of organising food detachments, selecting for them the best and most devoted people from among the workers and office personnel "in order to form a general working-class fighting force for establishing order, for assisting with supervision, for collecting all grain surpluses, for complete victory over speculators" (*Dekrety Sovetskoi vlasti*, Vol. II, pp. 379-81).

On this subject see also present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 416-17. p. 100

[70] After the capture of Omsk by Czech and Russian whiteguards on June 7, 1918, a Siberian whiteguard puppet government was set up there with the assistance of the interventionists. It consisted in the main of Socialist-Revolutionaries, with Mensheviks and Constitutional-Democrats participating. Behind a screen of democratic phrases it pursued a counter-revolutionary policy, paving the way for the transition to an open military dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and landowners.

G. Y. Zinoviev's inquiry concerned the purchase of grain in Omsk for Petrograd. p. 103

[71] This refers to the decree "On the Monuments of the Republic", adopted at a sitting of the Council of People's Commissars on April 12, 1918 (see this volume, Document 75 and Note 47). p. 105

[72] This refers to the capture of Syzran by units of the Czechoslovak Army Corps.

This Corps was formed in Russia before the October Revolution from among Czechs and Slovaks who were taken prisoner as soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army. By the agreement of March 26, 1918, the Soviet Government gave the Corps the opportunity of leaving Russia via Vladivostok on condition that it surrender its weapons and remove its Russian commanders. But on the orders and with the support of the imperialists of the U.S.A., Britain and France, the counter-revolutionary commanders of the Corps engineered an armed revolt by the Corps against the Soviet government at the end of May. Acting in close contact with the whiteguards and kulaks, the White Czechoslovak Corps occupied a considerable part of the Urals, the Volga area and Siberia.

In the districts occupied by the Czechoslovak mutineers, whiteguard governments were formed with the participation of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

Many soldiers in the Corps, seeing how they had been betrayed by their counter-revolutionary command, refused to fight against

Soviet Russia and deserted from the Corps. About 12,000 Czechs and Slovaks fought in the ranks of the Red Army.

The Volga area was liberated by the Red Army in the autumn of 1918. The White Czechoslovak Corps was completely routed simultaneously with the wiping out of Kolchak's forces. p. 106

[73] Lenin is referring to the following writings: the pamphlet by Rosa Luxemburg—Junius, *Die Krise der Sozialdemokratie*; the pamphlet circulated in Germany in manuscript form: *Klassenkampf gegen den Kriegl Material zum "Fall" Liebknecht* (Class Struggle Against the War. Material to Liebknecht's "Case"); cuttings from the newspaper *Berner Tagwacht*, organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland. p. 107

[74] The article by the German Left Social-Democrat O. Rühle, "Zur Parteispaltung" (On the Split in the Party), was published on January 12, 1916, in No. 11 of *Vorwärts*, the central organ of the German Social-Democratic Party. p. 107

[75] *Referenten-Material aus Niederbarnim'a* (Niederbarnim—suburb of Berlin) was quoted in Legien's pamphlet entitled *Warum müssen die Gewerkschaftsfunktionäre sich mehr am inneren Parteileben beteiligen?* (Why Must Trade Union Functionaries Take More Part in the Party's Internal Affairs?). p. 107

[76] This refers to the German Government's demand for the ships of the Black Sea Fleet to be transferred from Novorossiisk to Sevastopol. See this volume, Document 88 and Note 60. p. 107

[77] The Decree on the Nationalisation of the Oil Industry was adopted by the Council of People's Commissars on June 20, 1918. p. 107

[78] K. A. Mekhonoshin, a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Eastern Front, asked by direct line for information concerning the situation resulting from the revolt of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries in Moscow on July 6, 1918. He asked to be informed what stand the Left Socialist-Revolutionary A. L. Kolegayev had taken. Mekhonoshin also reported that M. A. Muravyov, a Left Socialist-Revolutionary in command of the troops of the Eastern Front, had proclaimed his loyalty to Soviet power and stated that he renounced his membership of the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Party because that party opposed Soviet power.

However, Muravyov made this statement in order to conceal his own treacherous activity. On receiving a telegram from the Central Committee of the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Party alleging that the Left S.R.s had succeeded in seizing power in Moscow, he went over to the insurgents. According to their plan, Muravyov was to make the troops on the Eastern Front take up arms against Soviet power and, after joining forces with the white Czechs, to march on Moscow. On July 10, on arriving at Simbirsk,

Muravyov announced that he did not recognise the Brest peace and declared war on Germany.

The Soviet Government took urgent measures to liquidate Muravyov's adventure. A government statement of July 11 declared him a traitor and enemy of Soviet power. On the evening of July 11, Muravyov was invited to a sitting of the Simbirsk Executive Committee. When Muravyov's traitorous telegrams on the cessation of military operations against the interventionists and whiteguards were read out at the sitting, the Communists demanded his arrest. Muravyov offered resistance and was killed. and his accomplices were arrested. p. 114

[79] The notes to I. E. Gukovsky refer to preparations for the issue of new Soviet currency. See also this volume, Document 71 and Note 45. p. 115

[80] This evidently refers to the fact that at a meeting convened by the Saratov Committee of the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Party in connection with the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries' revolt in Moscow, a decision was adopted condemning the actions of the C.C. of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries tending to undermine Soviet power. The Saratov combat squad of Left Socialist-Revolutionaries at their meeting denounced the treachery of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries in Moscow and declared that they stood by the platform of defence of Soviet power.

On receipt of a report from Saratov on the decisions adopted by the meeting of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, Lenin sent it to *Pravda* with the following introductory words: "Commissar Ivanov, travelling to the Caucasus, reports from Saratov." It was published in *Pravda* with this introduction. p. 117

[81] This was written in connection with a letter sent to the Naval Board by the Bureau of Supply of the North Caucasian Military District, requesting urgently to dispatch to the Caspian Sea and river Kura 8-10 motor vessels, which were to be put at the disposal of the Baku Council of People's Commissars. The letter specified the types of vessels, which were to be equipped with ordnance and machine-guns, and also with spare parts for the engines. p. 117

[82] In reply to Lenin's inquiry, Podvoisky, a member of the Supreme Military Council, reported that the units which were to be sent from Kursk to the Eastern Front were still being raised and that a brigade of three regiments with three batteries would be entrained on July 23. p. 118

[83] Podvoisky had proposed taking upon himself the leadership in suppressing the Czechoslovak revolt and counter-revolutionary actions in the Volga area and the Urals. p. 119

[84] Later, in reply to an inquiry from Lydia Fotieva about this letter of Lenin's, Larin informed her: "The letter from Vladimir Ilyich which you sent (concerning the drafting of a pamphlet about the Supreme Economic Council) was never received by me. Perhaps

it relates to the time when (in 1918) I was sent to Berlin to conduct negotiations with the Germans, and was to be handed to me on my return. At any rate, soon after returning I received a letter from Vladimir Ilyich on a similar subject, only broader in content—to write about the Soviet Republic in general, not merely about the Supreme Economic Council (the letter has not been found.—*Ed.*), so as to acquaint people abroad and our own population with what had been achieved in one year. To this end, Vladimir Ilyich later wrote an order to all government departments to give me all the information I needed (see *Lenin Miscellany XXI*, p. 139.—*Ed.*). But the material sent in by the departments was far from satisfactory and we had to abandon the thought of compiling such a factual report of the government for the first year of our rule, the idea of which had apparently dismissed from Vladimir Ilyich's mind the proposal for a pamphlet about the Supreme Economic Council alone."

Connected with Lenin's instructions mentioned by Larin in his letter to Fotieva is the decision drafted by Lenin and adopted by the Council of People's Commissars on August 29, 1918, calling for written reports to be submitted by the People's Commissariats on their work since October 25 (November 7), 1917, and Lenin's letter to the People's Commissars on this question (see present edition, Vol. 36, p. 493; Vol. 35, Document 168). p. 121

[85] On July 31, 1918, the Entente interventionists landed troops in Onega and seized the town. p. 123

[86] This refers to the following decrees of the Council of People's Commissars drafted on the basis of Lenin's "Theses on the Food Question" written on August 2, 1918 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 45-47): "On Drawing Workers' Organisations into Grain Procurement" (in Lenin's letter it is called a decree on collective trains) and "On Harvesting and Harvesting-Requisitioning Detachments". The decrees were adopted at the sittings of the Council of People's Commissars on August 3 and 4, 1918, and published in *Izvestia* on August 6.

Clause 7 of the decree "On Drawing Workers' Organisations into Grain Procurement", mentioned lower down in the document, states: "Detachments setting out to procure grain are obliged to assist the local population in bringing in the harvest." p. 125

[87] After the capture of Archangel by the Entente troops on August 2, 1918, a group of functionaries of the Archangel Gubernia Executive Committee went to Vologda to report to M. S. Kedrov on the situation on the Northern Dvina. In Vologda, they learned of L. D. Trotsky's order, which demanded that the functionaries who had left Archangel should be regarded as deserters and tried by the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal. The group of Communists, outraged by this order, since they were not directly to blame for the fall of Archangel, sent a request to Lenin and Sverdlov to be allowed to come to Moscow and report the truth about the events. In reply, Lenin sent the telegram published here. p. 126

[88] Replying to the preceding note from Lenin, Tsyurupa wrote: "Hostages can be taken when there is a real force. But is there? It is doubtful." p. 127

[89] This telegram is the reply to a message by direct line from D. T. Petruchuk, representative of the Moscow Regional Commissariat for Military Affairs, who had been sent to Orsha to expedite the dispatch of Red Army units to the Eastern Front. Petruchuk reported demoralisation in a number of army units and poor work on the part of local Soviet bodies, and he asked to be allowed to use the direct line. p. 130

[90] The Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. does not have the letter from Vorovsky, or its enclosures, or any other material that would make it possible to establish the precise nature of the abuses referred to. Since Lenin's letter was addressed to Sklyansky, member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Military Affairs, it may be presumed that the reference is to abuses in one of the military departments. p. 131

[91] Malyshev, in his capacity of authorised agent of the Union of Communes of the Northern Region, headed the expedition along the Volga of mobile trading barges carrying goods for exchange against grain. Lenin's telegram was in reply to Malyshev's report on the successful purchase of grain. See also this volume, Document 384. p. 132

[92] Lenin sent this telegram in reply to A. Y. Minkin, Chairman of the Penza Gubernia Executive Committee, who asked whether it was necessary to comply with the order of A. I. Potyaev, People's Commissar for Finance of the Northern Region, to the Chief of the Stationery Office in Penza that the unloading of the Stationery Office's train should be held up, contrary to Lenin's order dated August 16, 1918.

The Left Socialist-Revolutionaries' revolt in Chembar, an uyezd town in Penza Gubernia, mentioned in the telegram, broke out on the night of August 18. On August 20, the revolt was put down by a detachment of Lettish riflemen and Red Army men, who had arrived from Penza. p. 134

[93] This refers to a proposal to reward the first units to enter Kazan and Simbirsk. p. 135

[94] Lenin lived at the house of Latukka in Vyborg from September 17 (30) to October 7 (20), 1917, after the July events, when he went into hiding to avoid persecution by the bourgeois Provisional Government. p. 136

[95] *The Poor Peasants' Committees* were instituted by a decree of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on June 11, 1918. They played a tremendous part in the struggle against the kulaks and in consolidating Soviet power in the countryside. They car-

ried out strict accounting and distribution of grain and agricultural implements. Already by the autumn of 1918 the Poor Peasants' Committees, which played a historic role in the socialist revolution, had successfully solved the tasks entrusted to them. In this connection, and also in connection with the need "to complete Soviet construction by the creation of a uniform organisation of Soviets throughout the territory of the Soviet Republic", the Extraordinary Sixth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, held in November 1918, proposed the re-election of all volost and village Soviets, putting direct responsibility for the conduct of the elections on the Poor Peasants' Committees. In accordance with the election instructions published by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on December 4, 1918, the Poor Peasants' Committees were to wind up their activities after the election campaign and hand over all their funds and functions to the newly-elected Soviets. p. 137

[96] A. K. Paikes, authorised agent of the Food Commissariat, and Zorin, Political Commissar of the 4th Army, reported from Saratov on the bad situation in regard to supplies for the army units and asked that urgent measures be taken for the dispatch of uniforms, equipment and ammunition. p. 139

[97] In a telegram to Lenin received on the night of August 21, 1918, S. S. Turlo, Deputy Chairman of the Penza Gubernia Party Committee, A. M. Buzdes, member of the Gubernia Committee, and secretary F. V. Veselovskaya, reported on a meeting of the Gubernia Committee called in connection with Lenin's telegram of August 19 (see this volume, Document 158). At the meeting, in reply to a decision of members of the Gubernia Committee to send a food official and 50 Lettish Red Army men to suppress the uprising of the kulaks and to confiscate their grain, A. Y. Minkin, Chairman of the Gubernia Executive Committee, declared that he refused to carry out the decision. p. 140

[98] Lenin's letter was due to the following circumstances. On August 24, 1918, in view of the grave food situation in the city, the Moscow Soviet passed a decision allowing the working people to bring into Moscow freely up to one-and-a-half poods of foodstuffs for their own personal consumption. On August 26, the Council of People's Commissars considered a draft decree on preferential conveyance of grain, the question of the decision of the Moscow Soviet being left open.

While the question was under discussion, the decision of the Moscow Soviet allowing one-and-a-half poods as baggage could not but hinder the organisation of the campaign against the black-marketeering bag-men and the regulation of the work of the intercepting detachments. On August 29, L. I. Ruzer, member of the Board of the Food Commissariat, who was in charge of this work, asked the Board to relieve him of the work of combating bag-trading. Ruzer wrote in his statement that he could think of "no more wordings for a single order in response to inquiries from

the local areas". Tsyurupa, who was also opposed to the "one-and-a-half poods system", added a postscript: "None of the Board members nor the Board as a whole can think of wordings that Ruzer, too, failed to find. Conclusion: the order of the Moscow Soviet should be rescinded on approximately the following lines: the C.P.C. is to adopt a decision at once and publish it; the decision is to indicate the date on which the order of the Moscow Soviet ceases to be effective—approximately September 15. *A. Tsyurupa.*" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50, p. 447.)

At the top of Lenin's note, Tsyurupa wrote: "A reply to Ruzer's statement with my postscript", and then the date: "29/VIII."

By a decision of the C.P.C. dated September 5, 1918, the decision of the Moscow Soviet and a similar decision of the Petrograd Soviet ceased to be effective on October 1, 1918. p. 145

[99] Lenin wrote this letter when he was ill after being seriously wounded on August 30, 1918, by the Socialist-Revolutionary terrorist, Fanny Kaplan.

In spite of the doctors' orders, only a few days after being wounded, Lenin began to occupy himself with affairs of state. On September 16 the doctors allowed him to resume work. From September 23 to mid-October Lenin was recuperating at Gorki near Moscow.

The letter mentions the harvesting of grain in Yelets Uyezd, Orel Gubernia. On this subject see also this volume, Document 182.

The original bears the date "7.IX.1918". But in the files of the Council of People's Commissars there is a copy of this letter on which in an unknown hand is written the date "6/IX" and the time of dispatch "21.10 hours" (Ts. G.A.O.R., USSR). Moreover, on the night of September 6, Tsyurupa informed Zinoviev in Petrograd: "today Vladimir Ilyich ... wrote a letter" (*Petrogradskaya Pravda* No. 194, September 7, 1918). This gives grounds for assuming that the letter was written on September 6, 1918. p. 146

[100] Lenin's telegram was transmitted to Kazan at 6.54 a.m. on September 10, 1918, and by 2 p.m. units of the Red Army had liberated Kazan from the whiteguard and White Czech troops.

For Lenin's greetings to the Red Army men on the capture of Kazan see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 93, 100. p. 147

[101] Simbirsk was liberated on September 12, 1918, by units of the Iron Division led by G. D. Gai. p. 147

[102] Telegrams from the Poor Peasants' Committees of Yelets Uyezd, Orel Gubernia, were sent to Lenin in reply to his letter to Sereda, People's Commissar for Agriculture (see this volume, Document 78). p. 148

[103] This letter to V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich was written in connection with the death on September 30, 1918, of his wife, V. M. Velichkina-Bonch-Bruyevich, a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Health. p. 150

[104] This telegram was sent in connection with the proposal of Rifaat Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador in Germany, for the signing of a protocol regulating the military situation in the Caucasus. The draft protocol Rifaat Pasha put forward provided for the withdrawal of the Turkish troops from the Caucasus to the borders laid down by the Brest Treaty, but it lacked a clause directly transferring to the Soviet authorities the territories evacuated by the Turks.

The fears expressed in this telegram were justified. On October 30, 1918, the Turkish Government signed the Mudross armistice with the Entente countries, which contained a special clause about Turkey agreeing to the occupation of Baku by the Entente powers. In November 1918, in accordance with this agreement, the Turks withdrew their troops from Baku and the city was occupied by the British. p. 151

[105] Krasin asked Lenin to sign a telegram to the Tsaritsyn Extraordinary Commission for them to set free N. Mukhin, an employee of the Chief Oil Committee, who had been arrested, and allow him to travel freely to Moscow. Krasin proposed sending a copy of the telegram to Stalin in Tsaritsyn. p. 151

[106] This refers to the article "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky" (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 105-13). The article was published in *Pravda* on October 11, 1918. p. 151

[107] Lenin is alluding to the debts of the tsarist and bourgeois provisional governments to the imperialists of Britain, France, the U.S.A. and other countries. By a decree of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee dated January 21 (February 3), 1918, all foreign loans of the tsarist and Provisional governments were annulled. p. 152

[108] The Note to Woodrow Wilson, President of the U.S.A., was dispatched on October 24, 1918 (see *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. I, 1957, pp. 531-39). p. 152

[109] M. M. Litvinov, Plenipotentiary of the R.S.F.S.R. in Great Britain, was arrested by the British Government as a hostage for Bruce Lockhart, British Vise-Consul in Moscow, who was arrested on September 3, 1918, for counter-revolutionary activities against the Soviet Republic. In October 1918 Litvinov was exchanged for Lockhart and returned to Soviet Russia. p. 153

[110] On October 3, 1918, the newspaper *La Feuille* reported the publication of the book *La Russie socialiste*, which had been compiled by Left Socialist-Revolutionaries.

La Feuille—a daily newspaper published in Geneva from 1917 to 1920. While not formally the organ of any particular party, its views were those of the Second International. p. 154

[111] *Znamya Trudovoi Kommuny* (Banner of the Labour Commune)—a newspaper, published originally, from July 26 to August 18,

1918, under the title *Znamya Borby* (Banner of Struggle) as the organ of a group of Left Socialist-Revolutionaries. Later, from August 21, it was the organ of the Party of Narodnik Communists, a break-away from the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Party. The newspaper ceased publication in November 1918, when an extraordinary congress of the Party of Narodnik Communists passed a resolution dissolving the party and merging it with the R.C.P.(B.).

Volga Truda (The Will of Labour)—a newspaper, the organ of the Party of Revolutionary Communism, which broke away from the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Party in September 1918. It appeared from September 14 to December 4, 1918. From December 29, 1918, the daily newspaper was replaced by a periodical with the same title; it was published until October 1920, when the Party of Revolutionary Communism merged with the R.C.P.(B.). p. 154

[112] This refers to the illegally published "Letters" of the Spartacus group; twelve such letters were issued between September 1916 and October 1918. p. 154

[113] Martov's article "Marx and the Problem of Proletarian Dictatorship" was published in Nos. 29 and 30 of the journal *Sozialistische Auslandspotitik* for July 18 and 25, 1918. p. 155

[114] What this refers to has not been established. p. 155

[115] This refers to the "Letter to a Joint Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet and Representatives of Factory Committees and Trade Unions, October 3, 1918" (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 101-04). The possibility of the Entente countries extending intervention against the Soviet Republic was dealt with by Lenin in greater detail in his report at the joint session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet, factory committees and trade unions on October 22, 1918, and in the speech on the international situation at the Sixth Congress of Soviets on November 8, 1918 (ibid., pp. 114-27, 151-64). p. 156

[116] This refers to the Nizhni-Novgorod Radio Laboratory, which was founded in 1918 by M. A. Bonch-Bruyevich and V. M. Leshchinsky, and was one of the first scientific research institutes established after the October Revolution. Lenin took a personal interest in the work of the Radio Laboratory and gave it repeated support. p. 156

[117] The French translation of Lenin's *The State and Revolution* was first published in 1919 in Moscow. From 1921 onwards the book was repeatedly published in French in Paris. p. 158

[118] This refers to the "Regulations Concerning the Board for the Organisation and Exploitation of an Experimental Factory for Radium Extraction" adopted by the Supreme Economic Council and published in *Izvestia* on August 16, 1918. p. 159

[119] Written on the letter of head of the Children's Homes Department of the People's Commissariat for Social Security A. I. Ulyanova-Yelizarova to the Board of Properties of Moscow's People's Palaces asking for pillows, blankets and bed-linen needed for orphanages to be evacuated from Moscow to the grain-growing provinces because of the famine.

Lenin's directive was carried out. p. 159

[120] On November 12, 1918, the Swiss Government, yielding to pressure from the Entente countries, expelled from Switzerland the staff of the Embassy of the R.S.F.S.R. headed by Berzin. p. 160

[121] Lenin attached great importance to the suppression of the white-guard-S.R. revolt in Izhevsk and the liberation of the town. At the beginning of November 1918, in a talk with S. I. Gusev, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 2nd Army, he expressed the hope that Izhevsk would be liberated by the first anniversary of the October Revolution, and asked that this message should be transmitted to the Red Army men. On November 7, troops of the division commanded by V. M. Azin stormed and captured the town and the small arms factory.

Lenin's telegram is in reply to the report on the liberation of Izhevsk received from the Eastern Front. It was read out to the Red Army men who took part in the liberation of the town. p. 161

[122] The books preserved from Lenin's library in Poronin as well as archive materials (the Cracow-Poronin archives) were handed over to the Soviet Union after Lenin's death. The first batch of materials was received in 1924, and some of the books belonging to Lenin in 1933. Twelve of Lenin's books kept in the Bydgoszcz library, were handed over to the Soviet Army in 1945 as a token of gratitude for the liberation of the town from the German occupationists. A large batch of materials from the Cracow-Poronin archives, discovered by archivists of the Polish People's Republic, was received in 1951. A particularly large number of valuable documents were handed over to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. by the Polish United Workers' Party in 1954. Altogether, in 1951 and 1954, over a thousand new documents were handed over to the U.S.S.R. from Poland. p. 162

[123] On November 22, 1918, the Procurement and Supplies Department of the People's Commissariat for Food informed the Finnish Communist Club: "...in view of the fact that the organisations are only partially supplied at the present time, 6,000 poods of grain have been allocated to you from the stocks of the Food Commissariat. Enclosed herewith is a copy of Comrade Lenin's letter". (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50, p. 453.) p. 163

[124] This note is Lenin's reply to an inquiry asking his opinion about the proposal of the Manager of the Northern Regional Branch of the National (State) Bank to celebrate December 14—the anniversary of the promulgation of the decree nationalising private banks. p. 163

[125] This telegram was in response to a complaint Lenin received from N. P. Gorbunov, head of the Science and Technology Department of the Supreme Economic Council, that the Technical Committee of the Economic Council of the Northern Area was holding up fulfilment of orders from the Central Science and Technology Laboratory of the Military Department. At the top of the document received from Gorbunov, Lenin wrote an instruction to the secretary: "Phone Gorbunov and tell him to send *today* the *exact documents* concerning the half-month's delay and copies of papers from Amosov (head of the Technical Committee of the Economic Council of the Northern Area.—*Ed.*). Without the documents the complaint has no weight. *Lenin.*" On the left-hand side there is an additional note: "Reprimand sent. *Lenin.*" (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50, pp. 453-54.)

See also the document that follows. p. 164

[126] Lenin wrote this directive to Chicherin in connection with a radio-telegram from the German Government, which was set up on November 10, 1918, and consisted mainly of Right-wing Social-Democrats and Centrists. In its radio-telegram of November 21, 1918, the German Government requested the Soviet Government to issue a statement about its recognition and the obligation "to refrain from exerting any influence on the German population for the purpose of forming a different government".

Lenin's instructions were reflected in the Note to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated November 25, 1918, which was signed by G. V. Chicherin (see *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. I, 1957, pp. 576-77). p. 165

[127] Lenin wrote this instruction on a memo from the Department of Museums and Protection of Monuments of Art and Antiquity of the People's Commissariat for Education, sent to the Managing Department of the Council of People's Commissars on November 26, 1918, asking that a number of premises of the Grand Palace in the Kremlin be allocated for the requirements of the state museums.

On December 12, 1918, the C.P.C. decreed "that measures be taken to use premises of the Grand Palace for a museum, in particular for presenting a historic picture of the life of the tsars". (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50, p. 454.) p. 166

[128] Lenin's doubts about the correctness of the reports that most of the Councils of German soldiers in the Ukraine had adopted a Bolshevik stand were fully justified. The All-Ukraine Congress of Councils of German Soldiers, held in Kiev on December 13, 1918, was influenced by German opportunists and did not adopt any political resolution. The Congress decided to come to an agreement with Petlyura's bands and to surrender Kiev to them without a fight in exchange for the free passage of westward-bound German troop trains. p. 167

[129] This refers to the decree "On the Organisation of Supplies" adopted by the Council of People's Commissars on November 21.

1918. Under this decree the co-operatives were assigned a considerable role in the organisation of supplies for the population. p. 168

[130] This refers to the decision of the Extraordinary Sixth All-Russia Congress of Soviets granting an amnesty to certain categories of prisoners, adopted on the proposal of the C.P.C. on November 6, 1918 (see the collection *Syezdy Sovetov RSFSR i avtonomnykh respublik RSFSR*, Vol. I, 1959, pp. 89-90). p. 168

[131] Lenin wrote this telegram following a complaint received from I. V. Bogdanov, a member of the staff of the Unemployment Insurance Office in Borisoglebsk, concerning the arrest of his son who, on the grounds of his inexperience and poor health, refused to take part in the work of the Evacuation Commission to which he was assigned by the Commissariat for Agriculture. p. 169

[132] Lenin's note is a reply to Kamenev, who proposed abstaining for a period of two months from "forcing the pace in handing over the whole business of supply ... to the state". Kamenev wrote to Lenin: "Don't call it a concession, call it manoeuvring, and admit that this is precisely the time to manoeuvre." p. 169

[133] This refers to a pamphlet containing the decree on revolutionary legality adopted by the Extraordinary Sixth All-Russia Congress of Soviets on November 8, 1918. In this decree the Congress called on "all citizens of the Republic, all bodies, all officials of the Soviet authorities, to strictly observe the laws of the R.S.F.S.R., and the decisions, regulations and instructions issued by the central authorities". All departures from the laws, caused by the conditions of the struggle against counter-revolution, were to be kept within strictly defined limits. The decree outlined measures for waging a determined fight against bureaucracy and red tape in Soviet offices.

The pamphlet appeared in 1919 under the title *Observe the Laws of the Soviet Republic!* (see also Document 422 of this volume). p. 170

[134] This refers to materials concerning a gang of profiteers and bribe-takers, who had wormed their way into Soviet bodies in Astrakhan and disrupted the work of supplying the Soviet troops. p. 170

[135] This apparently refers to the operation of a squadron of ships of the Astrakhan-Caspian Naval Flotilla for landing troops at Staroterechnaya in the Kizlyar sector of the Caspian-Caucasian Front. p. 171

[136] Towards the end of November 1918 Kolchak's troops, possessing considerable superiority in strength, launched an offensive against the 3rd Army of the Eastern Front with the aim of uniting with the interventionist troops in the north. After heavy defensive battles, the 3rd Army was forced to abandon a considerable terri-

tory. The causes for the defeat were: poor supply of clothing, food and ammunition to the army units, lack of the necessary reserves, contamination of some army units by counter-revolutionary elements owing to the violation of the class principle in the formation of units, shortcomings in the army leadership on the part of the commander, M. M. Lashevich, and the Revolutionary Military Council of the army.

On this subject see also this volume, Document 242. p. 171

[137] The instruction to G. I. Petrovsky, People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, was written by Lenin on a telegram he received on December 16, 1918, from peasants of Budilovo village (Yaroslavl Gubernia) complaining against the Chairman of the local Poor Peasants' Committee who had confiscated grain from them although they had no surpluses. They asked protection of Lenin, as "head of the peasant government". p. 173

[138] Lenin's note to Sverdlov was written on a telegram from N. N. Kuzmin, Military Commissar of the 6th Army, who had reported that Left Socialist-Revolutionary agitation was being conducted among the troops of the Northern Front, as a result of which discipline in some units was deteriorating.

As regards Spiridonova, a leader of the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Party, Lenin's note probably refers to her speeches at outdoor and indoor meetings, against Soviet power, against the Bolsheviks. On February 24, 1919, the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal examined the case of Maria Spiridonova, who was accused of counter-revolutionary agitation and slander against Soviet power. The charges against Spiridonova were proved at the trial, but in view of the "morbidly hysterical state of the accused", the tribunal decided "to isolate Maria Spiridonova from political and social activity for one year by confining her in a sanatorium and affording her an opportunity for healthy physical and mental labour" (*Pravda* No. 43, February 25, 1919). p. 173

[139] This refers to the transfer to the People's Commissariat for Food of warehouses of industrial and handicraft products, which were at the disposal of the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission (Vecheka). The transfer was to have been made in pursuance of the decree on the organisation of supplies for the population adopted by the Council of People's Commissars on November 21, 1918. On December 3, 1918, the Food Commissariat asked the Vecheka to turn over the warehouses to the Chief Board for Distribution of Products, but up to December 20 this request remained without reply. On December 20, the Food Commissariat applied to the Council of Defence concerning this matter. p. 173

[140] D. A. Bulatov wired Lenin on December 26, 1918: "Letter received. Directive will be carried out." In a telegram on December 28, 1918, Bulatov reported that Teterin, a member of the Pervitino Poor Peasants' Committee, had been relieved of his post as being a former gendarme, but the other members of the commit-

tee had been left in their posts since the accusations against them were unproven. On December 31 Bulatov sent Lenin a detailed letter on this matter. p. 175

[141] Lenin's telegram is a reply to the following inquiry dated December 25, 1918, from S. A. Bank, Chairman of the Vyshny Volochok Uyezd Economic Council: "By order of the Council of Defence stores of army property have been sealed, an inventory is being urgently compiled. Owing to the spread of typhus in the town and uyezd, which is assuming menacing proportions, the Board of the Uyezd Economic Council has given permission for hospital property to be issued to the public health department. We ask for your sanction in assuming this great responsibility." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50, p. 459.) p. 175

[142] Lenin wrote this telegram in connection with a complaint reaching him from P. I. Surkov, a former member of the Social-Democratic group in the Third Duma, against the decision of the Extraordinary Commission of the town of Rodniki (Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia) to confiscate his library. Surkov reported that while objecting to the transfer of the library to Rodniki, he agreed to hand over the books for teaching young people in his own village. Regarding Surkov's library, see also documents 228, 229 and 235 in this volume. p. 175

[143] In his telegram to Lenin and to the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic dated December 26, 1918, Trotsky, commenting on the apprehensions of Commander-in-Chief Vatsetis regarding fraternisation, wrote of its significance, particularly on the Northern Front, where there were American, British and French troops. At the same time, in order to put a stop to enemy agitation among Red Army men and to prevent the weakening of the fighting efficiency of the Red Army units, the telegram proposed that fraternisation should be carried out in an organised manner under the surveillance and control of responsible functionaries, primarily political commissars. p. 176

[144] As a result of the measures taken, the Vyazniki workers received six truck-loads of flour, two of which were for the Yuzhsk factory. p. 176

[145] See Note 142. p. 177

[146] The question of requisitioning Surkov's library was discussed on December 27, 1918, at an enlarged sitting of the Executive Committee, the Extraordinary Commission and the Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) of the town of Rodniki. Its decision noted that "the books in Citizen Surkov's library, which are of social value, are shut away and unread at a time when there is an immense lack of books for the enlightenment of broad masses of workers and peasants", and that since a library was being formed in Rodniki "the requisitioned books will be of tremendous benefit as public property". In order to give Lenin fuller information on this question, the

meeting decided to send A. N. Prokofiev, secretary of the local Cheka, to see him.

Lenin received Prokofiev and after a talk with him wrote his letter to the People's Commissariat for Education. p. 177

[147] In reply to Lenin's letter, V. Y. Bryusov, head of the Library Section of the People's Commissariat for Education, informed him on January 2, 1919, that A. N. Prokofiev had been received and heard out in the Library Section. Bryusov wrote that, according to existing rules, the requisitioning of libraries could be permitted only with the knowledge and consent of the People's Commissariat for Education, in order that, when requisitioning takes place, the interests of the state as a whole should be taken into account—primarily the requirements of the large state libraries: the libraries of the Rumyantsev Museum (now the State Library of the U.S.S.R., named after Lenin), the Historical Museum, the Socialist Academy, the universities, and others. In view of this Prokofiev was asked to submit an inventory of the requisitioned library.

On receipt of Bryusov's memo, Lenin wrote a letter to Prokofiev (see this volume, Document 235). p. 171

[148] This refers to the publication by the People's Commissariat for Agriculture of *Materials on the Land Reform of 1918*. Issue VI—*Alienation and Utilisation of Agricultural Inventory*—appeared at the end of 1918. p. 178

[149] This evidently refers to the publication of leaflets and their distribution among the Entente troops and in localities captured by the interventionists and whiteguards. p. 178

[150] Written by Lenin on the back of a report sent him by V. I. Nevsky, People's Commissar for Railways, on the number of freight-loads of food sent to Petrograd from Moscow and on delays in the dispatch of food freights to Petrograd from Nizhni-Novgorod. p. 179

[151] See Note 147. p. 180

[152] Surkov's library came under the control of the Rodniki Department of Education on January 10, 1919, some of the books being returned to the original owner. Lists of the books requisitioned or returned to Surkov were sent to Lenin and to the Library Section of the People's Commissariat for Education on February 3. p. 180

[153] Written by Lenin following a conversation with F. F. Obraztsov, a peasant from Vasyutino village, Lopatinsk Volost, Vesyegonsk Uyezd, Tver Gubernia, who had been sent to Lenin by village Communists to solicit help in building a village People's House to replace one that was destroyed by fire at the end of 1917.

On January 18, 1919, after Obraztsov's return home, the local newspaper, *Izvestia* of the Vesyegonsk Soviet of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies, published an article about his reception by Lenin under the heading "A Visit to Comrade

Lenin". In it Obraztsov related that his talk with Lenin had dealt chiefly with the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government towards the poor and middle peasantry. In concluding the article, Obraztsov wrote: "Comrade peasants of Vesyegonsk Uyezd! Believe me who saw with my own eyes that there, at the top, our common cause is being administered not by officials or bureaucrats, but by our own, ordinary comrades, who rightly call themselves the Workers' and Peasants' Government. Let us hearken to their voice. They are working for us and our children. Let us help them with all we can in their difficult work. Then we shall all the sooner see a golden age for us. Comrades! I hope that it is together with you all that I say loudly: 'Long live the leader of the proletariat and protector of the poor, our friend and brother Vladimir Ilyich Lenin!!!'" p. 182

[154] Lenin sent this telegram in reply to the following telegram he received from Gorkino station on January 4, 1919: "Lenin, C.P.C., Moscow. We office staff and workers of Gorkino station, Northern Railway, at a general meeting have found it necessary to ask you to allow us to send our delegates to you in order to express our urgent needs. Please notify us whether you agree to receive them, and when. *Ryabinin*, chairman of the general meeting, *Nesterekhin*, secretary" (*Lenin Miscellany XXXV*, p. 51). p. 182

[155] This telegram was sent in reply to an inquiry from the Ufa Revolutionary Committee to whom the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries had made a proposal to begin negotiations for joint action against Kolchak.

The talks with the Ufa Right Socialist-Revolutionaries were held during January-February 1919 in Ufa and Moscow.

At the end of February, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee adopted a resolution on the attitude towards the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries. In view of the positive results of the talks and the fact that on February 8, 1919, the party conference of the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries declared itself opposed to an armed struggle against Soviet power and to foreign intervention in Russia's affairs, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee passed a decision to give to the groups of Right Socialist-Revolutionaries which adopted this stand the right "to participate in Soviet work". (*Izvestia* No. 45, February 27, 1919.) p. 184

[156] On December 25, 1918, Kolchak's troops occupied Perm. Having examined the letter from the Urals Regional Party Committee on the causes of the reverses of the 3rd Army, the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) set up a Committee of Inquiry consisting of J. V. Stalin and F. E. Dzerzhinsky, which visited the 3rd Army early in January 1919.

Lenin's directive was written in connection with a letter from Stalin and Dzerzhinsky in which they reported on the opening of the investigation and pointed out that in order to prevent the rapid advance of the enemy, it was essential to send urgently three reliable regiments to reinforce the 3rd Army.

On this subject, see also this volume, Documents 219, 251 and present edition, Vol. 28, p. 390. p. 185

[157] In reply to Lenin's telegram, Kornev, Chairman of the Ryazan Gubernia Executive Committee, reported that at a sitting of the Presidium of the Gubernia Executive Committee and the Presidium of the City Executive Committee on January 15, 1919, it had been decided to urgently organise a Department of Public Catering under the City Executive Committee which was to take charge of all Ryazan's dining-rooms and tea-rooms. p. 186

[158] This telegram was prompted by a telegram that Lenin received on January 12, 1919, at about 7 p.m., from four workers who complained that the Gavrilov Posad Extraordinary Commission had confiscated 16 poods of oats from them, and asked for orders to be given for their return. p. 187

[159] Lenin wrote this instruction to the secretary on a telegram to the Council of Defence from Pashkov, Chief of the Railway Militia of a district in Tula Gubernia, who reported on the progress of snow clearing on the railway, and gave factual data on the number of workers and carts engaged in this work. p. 187

[160] Lenin's directives to Tsyurupa were written on the memorandum of the Education Commissariat's Inter-Departmental Commission for the Purchase of Food for the Children of Moscow and Petrograd. The memorandum outlined measures for the better food provision of the children, specifically, the organisation and holding of a Starving Children's Week for obtaining produce in rural localities in exchange for commodities, and for delivery of this produce to the towns. p. 188

[161] The document referred to has not been found. p. 188

[162] Lenin's instruction to Trotsky was written on the text of a report from Stalin and Dzerzhinsky giving the reasons for the fall of Perm. The report stated that the three regiments intended as reinforcements for the 3rd Army had been reassigned to Narva. p. 189

[163] Lenin probably refers to a letter dated January 19, 1919, from M. K. Vladimirov, Military Commissar Extraordinary of the Railways of the Southern Front, reporting the state of affairs on the railways under his control. Appended to the letter was the draft of an addendum to the decision of the Council of Defence dated December 22, 1918, on the question of combating snowdrifts. p. 189

[164] On January 18, 1919, the Council of People's Commissars adopted a decision on the fuel and food situation at state engineering works. This decision instructed the Commissariat for Food to furnish exact information on "how many trucks, and when and from what localities, had been ordered for state engineering works and textile mills" (*Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*, p. 94). p. 190

[165] This refers to a proposed conference on the Princes Islands (Sea of Marmora) with the participation of representatives of all the governments existing on the territory of Russia to draw up measures for ending the Civil War. The address to the parties to the conference was drafted by Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States. The imperialists started this talk about a conference in order to halt the advance of the Red Army and, in the event of the Soviet Government refusing to participate in the conference, to put the blame on it for the continuation of hostilities. The Soviet Government unmasked the imperialists who were posing as "peace-makers"; on February 4, 1919, it issued a radio statement to the governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States and Japan agreeing to participate in the conference, which it intended to use as an international platform to expose the interventionists. But no reply was forthcoming from the Entente imperialists. Denikin, Kolchak and other counter-revolutionary governments still hoped to crush the Soviet Republic by force of arms, and therefore refused to take part in the conference, which was never held. p. 191

[166] Lenin's telegram followed receipt by him of a report from Schwartz, representative of the Council of Defence in Samara, about the arrest of A. M. Smirnov, a Right Socialist-Revolutionary and former mayor of the town under the White Czechs, who gave himself up to the Soviet authorities and declared his intention of working with "Soviet power" for the purpose of fighting against Kolchak. Schwartz reported that Smirnov put forward no conditions for his work in the future and was backed by a group of individuals from his camp who had decided to serve Soviet power.

On the telegram from Samara, Lenin wrote the words: "For handy reference. Wired 27/I." p. 191

[167] On receipt of Lenin's note Sklyansky gave instructions to S. I. Aralov, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, for an immediate investigation. On February 3, 1919, Aralov reported back that a member of the All-Russia Council of the Air Fleet had been sent by the Field Division for Aviation and Aeronautics to the Tsaritsyn Front to carry out an inspection. p. 192

[168] Lenin's note to Krasin, People's Commissar for Trade and Industry, was written in connection with a report by W. Jastrzembski, a former leader of the Polish Socialist Party, who was then in Russia, on the results of his journey to Warsaw undertaken to explore the possibility of establishing trade and cultural relations between the Soviet Republic and Poland. Owing to the resistance of the Right-wing leaders of the Polish Socialist Party, his mission was unsuccessful. Despite this Lenin was in favour of continuing negotiations. p. 192

[169] Written on a telegram from the secretary of N. I. Podvoisky, Ukrainian People's Commissar for Military Affairs, stating that

Podvoisky's train had left Moscow for Kharkov. The telegram was sent to seven different addresses. p. 193

[170] Lenin gave this instruction to Sklyansky and Podbelsky, People's Commissar for Posts and Telegraphs, after receiving a telegram from the Chief of Communications of Trotsky's train. The telegram stated that this train had left Petrograd for Yamburg and was sent simultaneously to a large number of addresses. p. 193

[171] On February 6, 1919, Shlyapnikov reported to Lenin information he had received from Baku to the effect that the workers of Baku enterprises and the sailors were hostile towards the British occupationists, that the ships, on which there were still Russian sailors, were ready to go over to the side of the Soviets, and that the Baku workers would start an uprising to coincide with the Red Army attack. p. 193

[172] Lenin's instruction to Petrovsky was written on the text of a report on the situation in Kursk Gubernia presented by an official of the Military Inspection. The latter reported dissatisfaction among the working people of Kursk Gubernia caused by abuses on the part of local Soviet and Party functionaries, the poor organisation of agitation and propaganda in the countryside and the weakness of the Party organisations in the gubernia. p. 194

[173] Lenin was informed that the rumour about the eviction of Vera Zasulich and other revolutionaries was without foundation. p. 195

[174] Lenin's telegram followed a letter from M. M. Fedoseyev from the village of Azeyevo, Yelatma Uyezd, Tambov Gubernia. Fedoseyev stated that in October 1918 his printing-press in the town of Yelatma was nationalised and now stood "in a shed, rusting away and idle", at a time when the uyezd town of Yelatma was without a printing-press and orders were being sent to towns in other uyezds. Fedoseyev wrote that he was "not a bourgeois", that for 27 years he had worked as a clerk, secretary, teacher, and book-keeper; that after buying on credit an old, broken-down printing-press, he had put it in order and had himself worked in the print-shop as proofreader and compositor.

On Fedoseyev's letter Lenin wrote the words: "Wired 18.II", "*file away* for *handy* reference". p. 195

[175] In reply to Lenin's telegram, P. Gorbunov, Chairman of the Yelatma Uyezd Executive Committee, reported the same day that the E.C. intended to merge Fedoseyev's printing-press with another nationalised local printing-press (of Meshcheryakov), where both Fedoseyev and Meshcheryakov, as specialists, would be allowed to work. p. 195

[176] A telegram from Headquarters of the Eastern Front on February 19, 1919, reported on talks with representatives of the Bashkir bourgeois-nationalist government for the cessation of this government's anti-Soviet activity and for the Bashkir troops fighting

alongside Red Army units against Kolchak. The opinion was expressed in the telegram that if the Bashkir troops would immediately go over to an offensive against Kolchak they should not be disarmed, but if they were to refuse to do so, then it was essential to disarm them.

Joint operations by Bashkir units and the Red Army against whiteguard troops began at the end of February 1919, and a Bashkir Revolutionary Committee was set up. On March 20, 1919, the Government of the R.S.F.S.R. signed an agreement with the Bashkir Government setting up a Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Republic. p. 196

[177] Written by Lenin on the title page of a copy of his pamphlet *The Struggle for Grain* (Moscow, 1918), which through the medium of A. P. Ramensky (a colleague of I. N. Ulyanov—Lenin's father) he presented to a delegation of teachers from Tver Gubernia. The delegation had come to Moscow to ask for help in the form of food for Tver teachers.

Lenin's pamphlet contained the text of his report on combating the famine delivered at a joint session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet, and the trade unions on June 4, 1918, and his reply to the debate on the report (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 419-43). p. 197

[178] Lenin's telegram is the reply to one dated February 26, 1919, from S. Y. Tsekhanovsky, Chairman of the Rudnya Executive Committee, Mikulino Volost, Orsha Uyezd, Mogilev Gubernia. Tsekhanovsky wrote that the Mikulino Communists had organised a central volost workers' co-operative for the purpose of "uniting workers and peasants on the basis of a communist system of trade, abolishing private trading and pillage, and reconstructing existing kulak-dominated consumer co-operatives"; the Rules of this workers' co-operative had been examined in the Supreme Economic Council. Reporting that leaders of the uyezd and gubernia organisations in Orsha and Mogilev were opposed to the activities of the Mikulino Communists, Tsekhanovsky asked permission to report to Lenin personally "on the state of affairs as the leader of communism and defender of the proletariat". p. 199

[179] Lenin's note to Maria Kostelovskaya was probably written at the C.P.C. meeting of February 27, 1919, which discussed the draft decree on workers' food detachments. The note was a reply to Kostelovskaya's proposal to postpone the discussion of this question. p. 199

[180] Written by Lenin on a note from A. I. Svidersky, member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Food, apparently at a meeting of the Council of People's Commissars. Svidersky wrote that the Food Commissariat had been discussing whether to consider the frontier with the Ukraine open for free transport of all food products or only of those that were unrationed.

The organisation of food supply in the liberated districts of the Ukraine at the beginning of 1919 was a very important mat-

ter. Lenin devoted great attention to this question; in particular, he proposed to hasten Schlichter's departure to the Ukraine, where he was to head the People's Commissariat for Food. On February 25, 1919, Lenin wrote on a telegram from Pyatakov, who reported on food stocks in the Ukraine: "Inform Schlichter, adding that I am extremely dissatisfied at the delay of his journey" (A. Schlichter, *Uchitel i drug trudyashchikhsya* [Teacher and Friend of the Working People], Moscow, 1957, p. 55). On February 19 and March 11, 1919, the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) adopted special decisions on food policy in the Ukraine (see *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 37, pp. 522, 630-31). p. 199

[181] Lydia Fotieva, secretary of the C.P.C., asked Lenin to take on for work in the C.P.C. Secretariat a woman recommended by the Staff Bureau of the C.P.C.'s Managing Department. V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich, head of the C.P.C.'s Managing Department, objected to the appointment on the grounds that it contravened the decree forbidding relatives to work together in the same Soviet institutions (the candidate had a sister working in the C.P.C.). Fotieva wrote to Lenin that the woman recommended "is a very valuable worker and it would be in our interests to take her on.... Could not the decree be bypassed?" p. 200

[182] Lenin wrote this on a letter from the Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party to the C.C., R.C.P.(B.). Point 3 of this letter expressed the desire that the question of frontiers with Poland should be decided on the basis of self-determination of the population living in the disputed territories, primarily in Lithuania and Byelorussia. Lenin's proposal was adopted by the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) and was reflected in Chicherin's letter to A. Y. Więckowski, delegate extraordinary of the Polish Government (see *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. II, 1958, pp. 105-06). p. 200

[183] Valentina Pershikova, a member of the staff of the Tsaritsyn Housing Department, was arrested for daubing a portrait of Lenin which she had torn out of a pamphlet. Requests for Pershikova's release were sent in telegrams to Lenin from V. S. Usachov, chief of one of the Tsaritsyn militia stations, and from Minin, a Red Army man. On Minin's telegram Lenin wrote the following instruction to his secretary: "Remind me when the reply comes from the Chairman of the Extraordinary Commission (and afterwards hand all the material over to the topical satirists)." (*Lenin Miscellany XXIV*, p. 172.) p. 201

[184] Apparently written at a meeting of the C.P.C. p. 201

[185] Kolegayev replied by telegram that three trains with foodstuffs had been dispatched to Moscow. The telegram also gave information on the progress of the food collection and pointed out that to expedite procurements it was essential to send additional workers and responsible food supply executives from the centre. p. 201

[186] On January 29, 1919, the Second Congress of Soviets of Sarapul Uyezd, Vyatka Gubernia, adopted a decision to collect grain in all villages of the uyezd as a gift to Moscow and Petrograd. The Congress decided that the gift of 40,000 poods of grain for Moscow "be dispatched and presented personally to our dear and beloved leader, Comrade Lenin". Lenin's note was written following his reception of the delegation of Sarapul peasants who had accompanied the train-load of grain. It was written, apparently, not on March 12 as indicated in the document, but on March 11, 1919. This is borne out by the following circumstances. Already on March 12 *Pravda* No. 55 reported that Kamenev, speaking at a plenary meeting of the Moscow Soviet on March 11, said: "I received a letter from Comrade Lenin who had been visited by representatives of Sarapul Uyezd, Vyatka Gubernia, who had brought 40,000 poods of grain as a gift to Moscow. These delegates are present at this meeting." The mistake about the date is also evident from the fact that on March 12 Lenin was in Petrograd, where he addressed a meeting of the Petrograd Soviet in the Taurida Palace (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 19-37). Lenin himself, speaking on March 13, 1919, at a meeting in the People's House in Petrograd, said: "Only a few days ago a delegation of peasants representing five volosts in Sarapul Uyezd came to see me" (ibid., p. 47). p. 202

[187] Y. Nikitin, a peasant from Alexeyevo village, Belsk Uyezd, Smolensk Gubernia, had asked that decrees and other materials needed for conducting a peasants' political circle be sent to him. p. 202

[188] Lenin gave this instruction to Petrovsky after receiving a complaint from peasants of Korbangsk Volost, Kadnikovo Uyezd, Vologda Gubernia, about the incorrect attitude of the Volost Executive Committee towards the middle peasants. Lenin wrote the instruction on the following draft of a telegram in Krupskaya's handwriting: "To the Korbangsk Volost Soviet, Kadnikovo Uyezd Vologda Gubernia. Draw up immediately in all villages lists of electors to the Soviet, excluding only known kulaks and drawing the middle peasants into the elections. After compiling the lists, fix new elections to the Soviet. A check will be carried out. Those guilty of incorrectly compiling the lists will have to answer for it" (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50, p. 476).

Shortly after this, on learning of the rude behaviour of A. G. Pravdin, a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, towards U. P. Mostakova, who had delivered the complaint of the Vologda peasants, Lenin wrote to Petrovsky: "... Pravdin must be hauled over the coals. Don't let him have his own way, and put him under supervision, he has a tendency towards stupid 'order issuing'. This must be put an end to" (ibid). p. 202

[189] This was a reply to a telegram from V. N. Kayurov, head of the Political Department of the 5th Army, who reported the capture of Ufa by whiteguard troops and the grave plight of the 5th Ar-

my. At the same time, Kayurov expressed confidence that if "class-conscious, trained reinforcements" were sent, "the enemy will be routed". p. 203

[190] G. N. Kaminsky, Chairman of the Tula Gubernia Executive Committee, reported by direct line about disturbances at Tula small arms and ammunition factories due to the serious food situation of the workers and the lack of currency for paying wages.

On this subject, see also this volume, Document 295, and *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*, pp. 7 and 9. p. 204

[191] This apparently refers to the radio-telegram on the subject of exchanging prisoners of war, sent on April 4, 1919, on behalf of G. V. Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, to the French Foreign Minister, S. Pichon (see *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. II, 1958, pp. 512-15). p. 205

[192] On April 5, 1919, on a report by D. I. Kursky, People's Commissar for Justice, the C.P.C. established standing orders for its meetings, adopting all Lenin's proposals. p. 206

[193] Lenin's reply to the peasants of Skopin Uyezd, Ryazan Gubernia, was written in connection with the mandate of the uyezd consultative congress, in which the peasants raised the questions of reducing the extraordinary revolutionary tax on peasants of average and below-average means, abolishing the mobilisation of draught horses and milch cows, increasing the grain quota to be left for the peasant farms, and others. p. 207

[194] The decree "On Privileges for Middle Peasants in Levying the Extraordinary Revolutionary Tax" was adopted at a session of the All-Russia C.E.C. on April 9, 1919. It was published in *Izvestia* on April 10. p. 207

[195] Lenin's letter was written following a talk with F. I. Bodrov, Chief of the Supply Section of the Sokolniki Forest School. There is a note from Lenin to the Commandant of the Kremlin, written on April 7, 1919: "Please admit the bearer, Comrade Filipp Ilyich Bodrov, to the Kremlin and the Council of People's Commissars. *V. Ulyanov* (*Lenin*), Chairman, C.P.C." (*Lenin Miscellany XXIV*, p. 288).

Regarding Bodrov, see also *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50, Document 555. p. 207

[196] At the time Panyushkin was at the North-Western Front. In connection with Kolchak's offensive Panyushkin's detachment was sent to the Eastern Front

See also *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50, Document 512. p. 208

[197] Lenin's radio-telegrams to Bela Kun were sent in connection with the news of the proclamation of a Soviet Republic in Munich on April 7, 1919. At that time it was not yet known in Moscow that the Soviet Republic in Munich had been proclaimed by leaders

of the German Social-Democrats and of the Centrist Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, who by this manoeuvre wanted to deceive the workers and to discredit the idea of Soviet power. Conditions in Bavaria not yet being ripe for the proclamation of a Soviet Republic, the Bavarian Communists refused to take part in this provocative act of adventurism.

On April 13, 1919, when the Bavarian counter-revolutionaries made an attempt to seize power, a furious struggle took place on the streets of Munich, ending in the victory of the workers. A Soviet government was set up in Bavaria—the Executive Committee headed by the leader of the Bavarian Communists, Eugene Levin; the government also included Independents. The Government of the Bavarian Soviet Republic set about disarming the bourgeoisie, organising a Red Army, nationalising the banks, establishing workers' control at enterprises, and organising food supply.

On April 27, 1919, Lenin wrote his "Message of Greetings to the Bavarian Soviet Republic", in which he gave the revolutionary government of Bavaria advice in the form of a concrete programme of action for the proletarian party that had come to power (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 325-26).

The home and foreign situation of the Bavarian Soviet Republic was a difficult one. At the very first difficulties encountered by the Soviet Republic the representatives of the "Independent Social-Democrats" began to pursue a treacherous policy. Towards the end of April, the Independents succeeded in removing the Communists from leading positions. Taking advantage of this situation the counter-revolutionaries went over to the offensive. On May 1, whiteguard units entered Munich and after three days' hard fighting captured the city. p. 208

[198] This telegram was sent in connection with a report from Knyaginin Uyezd, Nizhni-Novgorod Gubernia, addressed to Lenin at the Council of People's Commissars, stating that the local authorities were forcibly making the peasants join artels and communes.

The telegram was drafted in the People's Commissariat for Agriculture.

On April 10, 1919, the following circular letter, signed by Lenin and Sereda, was published in *Izvestia*:

"To all Gubernia Land Departments.

"Copies to Executive Committees.

"Information has reached the People's Commissariat for Agriculture that for the purpose of organising state farms, communes and other collective associations, the land departments and state farm boards, contrary to the intent of Article 9 of the Regulations on Socialist Organisation of Agriculture, are taking away from the peasants the lands of former landowners' estates which had been made over to them. The impermissibility of such practices is hereby confirmed. Lands being worked by peasants at the time of the publication of the Regulations on Socialist Organisation of Agriculture, and which were put at their disposal on the basis

of decisions or instructions of uyezd or gubernia land departments, may not on any account be forcibly alienated for the purpose of organising state farms, communes or other collective associations. The alienation of lands from the peasants for the sake of the above-mentioned organisations is permissible only by voluntary consent by way of land tenure regulation. Measures of coercion to make the peasants practise joint cultivation and join communes and other types of collective farming are impermissible. The transition to collective forms is to be carried out only in strict conformity with the Regulations, without any compulsion on the part of the authorities. Non-fulfilment of the present instruction will be punished in accordance with the laws of the revolutionary period. Inform the population of the present instruction as widely as possible.

"*Lenin*
"Chairman, Council of People's Commissars
"*Sereda*
"People's Commissar for Agriculture
"April 9, 1919." p. 209

[199] This telegram is a reply to those sent by N. N. Kuzmin, Military Commissar of the 6th Army, on April 8, 1919, reporting a proposal by General Ironside for an exchange of prisoners of war. Kuzmin asked to be authorised to conduct negotiations. p. 209

[200] In a telegram by direct line, Minin, a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, informed Lenin of the termination of the strike at the Tula arms factories and railway workshops. The telegram mentioned the need for timely and regular supply of food for the workers of the Tula factories through the People's Commissariat for Food, and the speedy delivery by the People's Commissariat for Finance of money for paying wages.
Above the text of Minin's telegram, Lenin wrote: "For the *Orgbureau of the C.C.*" p. 210

[201] Lenin wrote this telegram in connection with the receipt by him on April 12, 1919, of a telegram from Maxim Gorky reporting the arrest of the writer Ivan Volny in Maloarkhangelsk and asking for "an impartial investigation of the reasons for the arrest and his liberation under surveillance". "I have no doubt of his political loyalty," wrote Gorky.
See also this volume, documents 297 and 452. p. 210

[202] This document was apparently drafted in the People's Commissariat for Health since it was typed on the Commissariat's notepaper and signed also by People's Commissar for Health N. A. Semashko. p. 211

[203] On April 11, 1919, *Izvestia* published a decree of the C.P.C. calling up for military service in the Red Army workers and peasants of the central gubernias who did not exploit the labour of others,

and who were born between 1886 and 1890. In his telegram Zinoviev reported that a meeting of Petrograd Communists had decided to mobilise up to 20 per cent of the members of the Party over and above the general mobilisation. p. 212

[204] This refers to the inclusion of Socialist-Revolutionaries in the Ukrainian Government. p. 213

[205] This refers to an offensive by the troops of the Crimean Front, under the command of P. Y. Dybenko, into the interior of the Crimean Peninsula. The offensive was a mistake, since the attacking units could have been cut off in the Perekop Isthmus from the main forces and, moreover, at that time it was essential to concentrate maximum forces for an attack in the chief strategic direction—that of the Donets Basin and Rostov. p. 213

[206] The instruction to Dzerzhinsky was written by Lenin on the copy of a letter forwarded to him by the People's Commissariat for Agriculture. The letter was from N. D. Gorelov and P. I. Novikov, representatives of the peasants of Pochep Uyezd, Chernigov Gubernia, who had come to Moscow with a complaint about the abuses practised by the local authorities and had been received by Lenin. They wrote that on their return home they had been subjected to persecution and even arrested. p. 213

[207] This refers to a telegram from the Tambov Consumers' Society to the Council of People's Commissars concerning implementation of the decree of the C.P.C., dated March 16, 1919 on consumers' communes. The decree provided for the amalgamation of all consumers' co-operatives in town and country into consumers' communes with the aim of creating a single distributive apparatus. The telegram from Tambov reported that 252 members of the Tambov Consumers' Society found at their meeting that trade was being conducted properly and "do not want to hand over the Consumers' Society to consumers' communes". p. 214

[208] This is a reply to a telegram received on April 21, 1919, from Commander-in-Chief I. I. Vatsetis and member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic S. I. Aralov, inquiring whether an advance into Galicia and Bukovina was permissible politically and what objective it pursued.

Lenin wrote on the telegram from Vatsetis and Aralov: "To Comrade Sklyansky's secretary: please code and send off the attached (this probably refers to Lenin's telegram.—*Ed.*), then pass it on to Comrade Sklyansky for filing." (*Iz istorii grazhdanskoi voiny v SSSR*, Vol. 2, 1961, p. 382.) p. 215

[209] Lenin's directives to Sklyansky were written on a report from Commander-in-Chief Vatsetis dated April 23, 1919, concerning the military situation of the R.S.F.S.R. Vatsetis argued the necessity to unite the armed forces of the Soviet Republics and place them under a single command; he also proposed that the system of Universal Military Training should be temporarily done away

with and its 24,000 instructors mobilised to strengthen the command of the reserve units on the Eastern Front. p. 216

[210] The report of Vatsetis has a postscript by Aralov, who objected to the total liquidation of the U.M.T. and proposed simply reducing it by 50 to 75 per cent. p. 216

[211] Lenin's instruction to Zinoviev was written on a letter from V. N. Yakovleva, a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Food, replying to an inquiry of Lenin's concerning a request by the Petrograd Co-operative of Ukrainian Citizens for their rationed food products to be turned over to them. The letter stated that, at the request of the Ukrainian Soviet Government, the People's Commissariat for Food, by way of exception, had permitted this co-operative to import from the Ukraine a small amount of rationed food products, but that A. Y. Badayev, Food Commissar of the Petrograd Labour Commune, had prevented it. Yakovleva wrote that this was not the first case of failure on the part of Badayev to comply with the instructions of the People's Commissariat for Food.

On this subject see also this volume, Document 318. p. 218

[212] On May 25, 1919, after examining the question of material assistance for V. I. Taneyev, a Russian revolutionary democrat, public figure and scholar, the Council of People's Commissars decided to assign him a monthly social security pension of 2,000 rubles, and authorised Lenin to sign a Protection Certificate. p. 218

[213] See Karl Marx's letter of January 9, 1877, to M. M. Kovalevsky (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Collected Works*, 2nd Russian Ed., Vol. 34, p. 185). p. 219

[214] Written by Lenin in reply to a note from Kamenev, who proposed "to ease and shut one's eyes to" the free transport of foodstuffs, with the exception of grain, as, in his opinion, in any case "we shall come to this in June". p. 221

[215] Written at a time when Communists were being mobilised for the struggle against Kolchak, this note is a reply to Kostelovskaya, a Party member. She asked how she was to understand her appointment to the Eastern Front as the head of the Political Department of the 2nd Army. p. 222

[216] This instruction to Rudzutak, Chairman of the Chief Board of Water Transport, was written by Lenin on a telegram from Kazan to the Board. The telegram reported failure to take out several vessels with grain, crude oil and paraffin from Chistopol (Eastern Front), which had been occupied by whiteguard troops, owing to the boats coming under fire from whiteguard cavalry. p. 222

[217] This was written on a telegram from K. A. Mekhonoshin, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 11th Army, who asked that part of the 33rd Division, which was to be trans-

ferred to the Eastern Front, should be left in the Astrakhan area. Mekhonoshin reported that the transfer of the whole 33rd Division and the impossibility of a rapid formation of the 34th Division, owing to the delay in sending promised reinforcements, would compel them to stop the offensive against Kizlyar and give up the idea of capturing Guriev and Rakusha, where there was oil, and would put the fleet, which was threatened with loss of its base, in a hopeless position. "The absence of precise orders from Field Headquarters," wrote Mekhonoshin, "puts the army in an absolutely impossible position and gives grounds for accusing us of inactivity." Lenin made a number of underlinings and markings on Mekhonoshin's telegram (*Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*, pp. 127-28). p. 222

[218] Lenin wrote this note on a statement by A. Y. Badayev to the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies. Badayev tried to justify the various instances of non-fulfilment by him of the orders of the People's Commissariat for Food (see Note 211), claiming that the accusations against him were "intrigues of a definite group in the Centre" and asking to be relieved within five days of his post as Food Commissar of the Petrograd Labour Commune. p. 223

[219] On May 4, 1919, a letter addressed to Lenin was received by radio from Fridtjof Nansen, Norwegian scientist and arctic explorer. The letter was dated April 17, 1919. In it Nansen gave the text of his appeal to the heads of government of the four Entente Powers (U.S.A., France, Great Britain and Italy) proposing the setting up of a committee to organise aid for Russia with food and medical supplies, and their reply. In their reply the heads of the Entente Powers (Woodrow Wilson, David Lloyd George, Georges Clemenceau and Vittorio Orlando) made this aid conditional on the cessation of military operations on the territory of Russia, but without indicating whether this condition would be binding on the powers who were pursuing a policy of armed intervention against the Soviet Republic. Nansen had obviously failed to see through the manoeuvres of the Entente leaders and expressed his agreement with the conditions they had put forward. On the same day, May 4, Lenin informed Chicherin that this question had been referred to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) and asked him to draft a reply to Nansen, emphasising the need to expose the imperialists.

Lenin's letter published here contains his remarks on the draft reply to Nansen. p. 224

[220] William Bullitt, the American diplomat, came to Soviet Russia in March 1919 to ascertain the conditions on which the Soviet Government would agree to conclude peace with the Entente countries as well as with the whiteguard governments on Russian territory. Proposals emanating from the U.S. President, Woodrow Wilson, and the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, were transmitted through Bullitt. The Soviet Government, striving for the speediest

conclusion of peace, agreed to negotiations on the proposed terms, introducing into them, however, some essential amendments (for the text of the peace proposal drafted by the U.S. government representative, Bullitt, and the Government of the R.S.F.S.R., see *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. II, 1958, pp. 91-95). Shortly after Bullitt's departure from Soviet Russia, Kolchak succeeded in achieving some successes on the Eastern Front, and the imperialist governments, anticipating the collapse of the Soviet state, refused peace negotiations. Wilson forbade publication of the draft agreement brought by Bullitt, and Lloyd George, in a speech in Parliament, declared that he had nothing to do with the negotiations with the Soviet Government. p. 225

[221] Lenin's remarks on the draft replies to Nansen were fully taken into account in the radio-telegram of May 7, 1919 (see *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. II, 1958, pp. 154-60). The plan put forward by Nansen came to nothing. p. 226

[222] Under pressure from the White Cossacks, the Soviet troops, which had been on the defensive east of Orenburg, withdrew and occupied positions seven kilometres from the town. p. 227

[223] Lunacharsky, who had been sent to Kostroma as an authorised agent of the All-Russia C.E.C. to combat desertions, reported on the serious food situation in Kostroma and Kostroma Gubernia. p. 229

[224] This refers to the counter-revolutionary revolt of Ataman Grigoriev, which broke out at the beginning of May 1919 in the rear of the Soviet troops in the Ekaterinoslav and Kherson gubernias. The revolt directly threatened the flank and rear of the Soviet troops in the Donets Basin and the rear communications of units of the 2nd Ukrainian Army in the Crimea, and also hindered railway transport throughout the Ukraine. In the period from May 11 to 24, by simultaneous blows from the east, north and south, the troops of the Ukrainian armies routed the insurgents. p. 230

[225] On April 24, 1919, the Council of People's Commissars adopted the decree "On Organising Migration to the Producing Gubernias and the Don Region". The migration of peasants and workers of the northern gubernias of the R.S.F.S.R. to the southern areas of the country was carried out in order to ease their plight in the matter of food supply and restore agriculture in localities which had suffered from whiteguard revolts.

On this subject see also the telegram of May 21, 1919, signed by Lenin and S. P. Sereda, sent to the gubernia land departments in Smolensk, Tver, Moscow and Ryazan (*Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*, pp. 144-45). p. 230

[226] In a telegram to the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.), S. I. Gusev, M. M. Lashevich and K. K. Yurenev, members of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Eastern Front, objected to

S. S. Kamenev being replaced by A. A. Samoilo as commander of the Eastern Front. The telegram stated that F. V. Kostyaev, Chief of Staff of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, was making unwarranted replacements of army commanders, and that S. I. Aralov, a member of the R.M.C. of the Republic endorsed these orders of Kostyaev's by his signature. On May 25, 1919, S. S. Kamenev was reappointed commander of the Eastern Front. p. 231

[227] The occasion for Lenin's telegram was the receipt on May 20, 1919, at 7.10 p.m., of a telegram addressed to him, which reported that on their arrival in Novgorod, after having been received by Lenin, the Chairman of the Artel Association, A. A. Bulatov, and the Manager of the Instructors' Department, Lyubimov, had been arrested.

Lenin wrote the following note on the telegram he had received: "File for *handy reference*. Reply sent 20/V."

The inquiry mentioned by Lenin was made on May 13, 1919 (see *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50, Document 567). p. 232

[228] Riga was captured on May 22, 1919, by the German troops under General Goltz and by the Lettish whiteguards. p. 233

[229] On May 26, 1919, Lenin sent another telegram to the Voronezh Gubernia Military Commissar (a copy was sent to the Gubernia Party Committee), stating: "Report immediately how many Communists have been sent to the Southern Front. *Lenin*, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars." (V. I. Lenin, *Voyennaya perepiska*, Moscow, 1957, p. 133.) p. 235

[230] The sentence in the telegram from the words "Bear in mind" to the words "and the Ukraine" was written by Lenin. The first part of the telegram is a typewritten text, apparently written by Chicherin since there is a note by him to the document saying: "To Comrade Lenin. Draft of a telegram; please reply whether you agree to it." He also wrote the last sentence: "Exceptions—Chinese workers, Persians, by orders from the centre." p. 235

[231] Alexandria and Znamenka were centres of the counter-revolutionary revolt of Ataman Grigoriev. On the night of May 21, 1919, Soviet troops fought their way into Alexandria, where Grigoriev had his headquarters. p. 236

[232] On the same day, May 28, 1919, another telegram, signed by Lenin, Krestinsky and Kamenev, was sent by direct line to Rakovsky, Chairman of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars. It contained the full test of the decision adopted by the C.C. of the R.C.P.(B.) and outlined concrete measures for its fulfilment (see *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*, p. 153). p. 236

[233] Towards the end of May the front of the Soviet troops at Millerovo was broken through, which resulted in the withdrawal of

units of the Southern Front and allowed Denikin's forces to unite with Cossack insurgents in villages of the Upper Don. p. 238

[234] In a letter to the Organising Bureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) entitled "Pandering to Prejudices", Y. M. Yaroslavsky asked the members of the Bureau whether persons who took part in religious ceremonies could be allowed to remain in the Party. p. 239

[235] This refers to the plan of the Ukraine's army men to set up a Revolutionary Military Council of the Donets Basin Front subordinated to the Southern Front and consisting of the 2nd Ukrainian, the 8th and the 13th armies. The plan was communicated to Lenin from Kharkov on May 31 by a telegram from the authorised agent of the Council of Defence. p. 241

[236] On May 27, 1919, the C.P.C. heard a report by A. I. Svidersky, a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Food on the state of grain procurements and on plans for the food procurement campaign before the next harvest. The Council decided to publish Svidersky's report in the form of an article and to transmit abroad by radio a short communication about it with statistical data.

Lenin's instruction to the secretary was written on the text of the prepared radio-information, which stressed that, in spite of extremely adverse conditions (lack of commodities, devaluation of the currency, seizure by whiteguards of the main grain-growing regions), procurements of grain in 1919 were proceeding more successfully than in the previous year: the Soviet food supply organisations collected 102 million poods of grain during the nine months (from August 1918 to April 1919) compared with only 28 million poods during the ten months (from November 1917 to August 1918)

Svidersky's article "Immediate Food Prospects" was published in *Izvestia* for June 3 and 4, 1919. p. 241

[237] This telegram concerns the situation on the Western Front and the conflict between A. I. Okulov, a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Western Front, on the one hand, and J. V. Stalin, G. Y. Zinoviev and the leadership of the 7th Army, on the other. In the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U., there are notes on this question which were exchanged between Lenin and Sklyansky at a meeting. Lenin wrote to Sklyansky: "Stalin demands the recall of Okulov, whom he accuses of intrigues and disorganisation." In answer to a note of Sklyansky's giving a favourable testimonial of Okulov, Lenin gave the following directive to Sklyansky: "Then draft the text of a telegram (a precise statement of what the 7th Army is accused by Okulov) and I will send a code message to Stalin and Zinoviev to keep the conflict within bounds and channel it in the right direction." The draft of the telegram published here was drawn up in accordance with this directive and afterwards supplemented and signed by Lenin.

On the subject of the recall of Okulov, see also this volume, Document 354. p. 242

[228] Lenin's note to Chicherin was written in connection with a letter from M. Barakatullah, an Indian professor, who wrote about the struggle against British imperialism in India, and asked that his article on Bolshevism be published "in order to win the hearts of the Moslems to the support of Bolshevism". p. 244

[239] The ultimatum mentioned in this note was presented to the British Government by a delegation of the British Trades Union Congress. The workers demanded that the government should not interfere in the internal affairs of Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary and threatened a general strike if their demands were not met. p. 244

[240] On June 6, 1919, the Political Bureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) passed a decision to transfer S. P. Natsarenus to the Ukraine. In this connection the following telegram was sent to Stalin: "Politbureau of C.C. has decided, in view of the extreme necessity of immediately effecting unity of command in the Ukraine, to appoint Natsarenus a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 14th Army, formerly the 2nd Ukrainian Army. *Lenin*, *Krestinsky*, *Kamenev*." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50, p. 490.) p. 247

[241] This refers to repulsing Finnish whiteguards who were making attacks on the Soviet frontier. p. 247

[242] For Sklyansky's telegram to Melnichansky on June 9, and to Beloborodov on June 10, 1919, see the book: V. I. Lenin, *Voyennaya pereptska*, Moscow, 1957, p. 148. p. 250

[243] While the Southern group of troops of the Eastern Front were conducting decisive offensive operations against Kolchak, White Cossack and kulak revolts flared up in a number of front-line areas (Samara and Orenburg gubernias, the Urals Region). p. 251

[244] On receiving Lenin's telegram, Stalin wrote on it a reply for dispatch to Moscow: "What was lost has not yet been recovered. Heavy crossfire is going on. Everything that could be sent has been sent for operations by land. Obviously it is impossible and inadvisable to leave for Moscow during these days. Postpone the plenum. We have no objection to publication of part of the document...." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 50, p. 490.)

The document mentioned in the telegram has not been found. p. 253

[245] The counter-revolutionary mutiny at Fort Krasnaya Gorka, which broke out during the night of June 12, 1919, was put down during the night of June 13. Fort Seraya Loshad, which had joined the rebels, also fell during the day of June 16. Only a few hours before the mutiny was suppressed, the Soviet command received information that a British naval force of 23 ships had set out from Libau to aid the Krasnaya Gorka mutineers. In view of the

fact, however, that the Soviet fleet dominated the sea approaches to Petrograd, the British command did not venture to begin large scale operations and was compelled to limit the activities of its squadron to isolated actions. p. 254

[246] This refers to the decision of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.), dated June 15, 1919, on General Headquarters. In a statement to the C.C. Trotsky opposed this decision, which he described as containing "whims, mischief", etc. p. 255

[247] Lenin wrote this letter in connection with the strike of workers at a number of enterprises of Tver Gubernia. The strike, which broke out in the middle of June 1919 and lasted several days, was caused by dissatisfaction among the workers over the reduction of the bread ration and food supplies. Counter-revolutionary elements tried to take advantage of the economic difficulties of the Soviet Republic in order to inflame anti-Soviet sentiments.

The question of the food strikes was discussed at joint meetings of the Politbureau and Orgbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on June 18 and 24, 1919. Special measures were taken to improve the position of the workers of the textile district. p. 255

[248] This refers to a revolt in the rear of Kolchak's army.

The Kustanai partisans who broke through to the Soviet forces were formed into a Communist Regiment which fought the enemies of the revolution to the very end of the Civil War. p. 256

[249] In a telegram on June 20, 1919, V. I. Nevsky and L. S. Sosnovsky reported from Tver that the strike was at an end and all enterprises were resuming work. They wrote that, over and above the delegates constitutionally elected by the uyezd congresses for the forthcoming Gubernia Congress of Soviets, the Gubernia Executive Committee had invited an extra delegate from each volost for the purpose of strengthening ties with the countryside. The Gubernia Congress of Soviets decided to ask the C.E.C. to grant the volost delegates the right to vote. Nevsky and Sosnovsky objected to this, stressing that 80 per cent of the volost delegates were non-Party, predominantly kulak elements, and they asked Lenin to reply urgently.

The telegraph form on which Lenin's telegram was written bears a note by him: "*Files*." p. 257

[250] On June 23, 1919, Lenin received a telegram from the River Transport Administration Committee, reporting the existence of large stocks of grain on the Belaya River and the need to expedite its dispatch.

In reply to Lenin's inquiry, Svidersky reported that, in order to expedite grain procurements on the Belaya River and in Ufa Gubernia in general, M. I. Frumkin, a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Food, had gone there from Samara, and that measures would be taken to send food army men to the Belaya. p. 258

[251] This refers to the offensive of General Wrangel's Caucasian army, which was part of Denikin's forces, in the direction of Saratov and Penza. p. 259

[252] In his reply to Lenin on the same day, Frunze wired: "I have devoted and am devoting the most serious attention to the enemy operations on the Urals Front, particularly in the area of Nikolayevsk, in view of the obvious danger of the Kolchak and Denikin fronts linking up on the Volga. Unfortunately, in this sector I have had at my disposal only weak units, completely untrained and often poorly armed forces. All the rest were sent against Kolchak at the time of his offensive against Samara and until now have been engaged in the Ufa direction...." (*Iz istorii grazhdanskoi voiny v SSSR*, Vol. 2, 1961, p. 234.) Frunze assured Lenin that Uralsk and the entire northern part of the region would be cleared of whiteguards within 10 to 14 days. On July 11, 1919, the Red Army liberated Uralsk. p. 259

[253] On June 16, 1919, the C.P.C. received a telegram from military engineer Y. A. Berkalov stating that the finance department of the Porokhovo District Soviet of Petrograd had imposed an extraordinary tax of 40,000 rubles on the 50,000 rubles granted to Berkalov by a decision of the C.P.C. of November 26, 1918, as a reward for his artillery invention (consisting in the discovery of methods for long-range artillery fire and for increasing the muzzle velocity of the shells)

The decision of the C.P.C. "On Inventions", dated June 30, 1919, which laid down that rewards for inventions were exempt from taxation, was published on July 4 in *Izvestia* No. 144. p. 260

[254] Lenin advised Gorky to "take a trip" on the propaganda steamer *Red Star*, which was making a cruise on the Volga and Kama. Krupskaya took part in this trip along with a group of top-level functionaries of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.), the C.E.C., and various People's Commissariats. On July 10, Lenin wired Krupskaya: "I saw Gorky today and tried to persuade him to travel on your steamer, about which I had sent a telegram to Nizhni, but he flatly refused." (See present edition, Vol. 37, p. 545.) p. 260

[255] On July 3, 1919, the Bureau of the Women's Organisation in Sormovo requested N. K. Krupskaya, who had come to Sormovo, to help obtain a building from the Sormovo Works Management for a children's home. Housing belonging to the works could be made over to other institutions only by an order of the Council of Defence; hence the application of the Sormovo Women's Organisation was forwarded to Lenin. Lenin's directive was considered at a meeting of the Presidium of the Sormovo Soviet on July 18. The matter was referred for a final decision to the Presidium of the Nizhni-Novgorod Gubernia Executive Committee,

which decided to meet the request of the Sormovo Women's Organisation. p. 261

[256] At the beginning of July the Command of the Southern Front asked Lenin to permit a call-up of 18-year-old working men in districts close to the front. Before putting the matter before the Council of Defence, Lenin asked the All-Russia Chief Headquarters for information about reinforcements sent to the Southern Front. In reply to Lenin's telegram of July 8, the Revolutionary Military Council of the Southern Front repeated its request. On July 11, 1919, the Council of Defence decided "to permit the R.M.C. of the Southern Front to carry out mobilisation of 18-year-olds in the above-mentioned areas" (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 378). In addition, the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic was instructed to adopt measures for the immediate dispatch of the trained units to the fronts, primarily the Southern Front. p. 262

[257] F. Shturmin, a Red Army soldier, sent a letter to Lenin asking for orders to be sent to the Nizhni-Novgorod Uyezd Military Commissariat to give him his pay for the period of his illness. Together with the note to Sklyansky, Lenin sent the documents he had received from Shturmin. p. 262

[258] The text of Lenin's directive was quoted by N. P. Gorbunov, head of the Science and Technology Department of the Supreme Economic Council of the R.S.F.S.R., in the general plan drawn up by him on July 14, 1919, outlining measures for the extraction of oil, coal, sapropel, shales and fuel gases.

In the spring of 1919 a large expedition from the Chief Shale Committee was sent to the Volga to organise the exploitation of fuel shales and bituminous deposits in Undory, Kapshira (near Syzran) and Syukeyevo.

In the second half of July and in August 1919, a number of executives on the staff of the Chief Shale Committee, headed by I. M. Gubkin, went to the Volga to check on the work of the expedition and give it assistance. Included in the group were F. F. Syromolotov, Chairman of the Chief Mining Board of the Supreme Economic Council, and V. P. Nogin, who enlisted the co-operation of local Party and administrative organisations. The results of the expedition's work were reported to Lenin (see I. M. Gubkin's contribution in the book *Vospominaniya o Vladimire Ilyiche Lenine* [Recollections about Vladimir Ilyich Lenin], Part 2, Moscow, 1957, pp. 300-19). p. 264

[259] J. Hanecki, a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Finance, was to draft a reply to Rakovsky's telegram received by Lenin on July 16, 1919, requesting the dispatch of money that had been promised in connection with the acute financial crisis in the Ukraine. Hanecki drew up the following reply: "Today 300 is being sent, of which 50 are assigned for Kaluga. In future, consignments will be made regularly." On Hanecki's reply Lenin

wrote his second note and marked at the top of the document "Reply to Rakovsky". p. 265

[260] In a telegram to the Soviet Government of Latvia on July 17, 1919, Lenin wrote: "Please get in touch with Stalin, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Western Front, on the question of the change of name." (*Lenin Miscellany XXIV*, p. 194.) The renaming of the Lettish Division did not take place; it retained its old name—the Lettish Rifle Division. p. 266

[261] The Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic at that time was S. S. Kamenev. p. 266

[262] Lenin is referring to the capture of Zlatoust by the 5th Army (July 13, 1919), and of Ekaterinburg (now Sverdlovsk) by the 2nd Army on July 14, 1919. p. 267

[263] The question of establishing fixed prices for grain and manufactured goods was discussed at a meeting of the C.P.C. on July 22, 1919, and at further meetings of the Council on July 24 and 31. The decision adopted on July 31 laid down that the selling price for workers and office employees would remain as before, and the People's Commissariat for Food and the Board of the Supreme Economic Council were directed not later than September 1, 1919, to sign and publish fixed prices for foodstuffs and manufactured goods. p. 268

[264] In reply (their telegram of July 28, 1919) Frunze and Lashevich informed Lenin that the situation south of Buzuluk and in the Uralsk area gave no cause for alarm; that not later than July 31 the whole right bank of the Ural River would be liberated from the enemy, and that the railway to Uralsk was cleared and rapidly being repaired. The telegram also mentioned that a serious situation had arisen north of Astrakhan. p. 269

[265] This refers to the plan of struggle against Denikin drawn up by the Commander-in-Chief, S. S. Kamenev. According to this plan, the main attack was to be delivered by the left wing of the Southern Front via the Don Region with a secondary attack in the Kharkov direction. The plan was expounded in a directive of the Supreme Command dated July 23, 1919 (see *Iz istorii grazhdanskoi voiny v SSSR*, Vol. 2, 1961, pp. 499-500). On July 27, 1919, L. D. Trotsky sent a telegram to E. M. Sklyansky, Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, in which he reported that "Commander of the Southern Front Yegoriev considers Kamenev's operational plan for the south to be wrong, and in carrying it out does not expect success" (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 381). This opinion, Trotsky wrote, was shared by Sokolnikov, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the front, and Peremytov, Chief of Operations Division. p. 270

[266] Written in reply to a communication from Bela Kun about the serious situation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, against which

an armed intervention had been started, and to his request for urgent aid from Soviet Russia. p. 271

[267] Lenin, who was resting at Gorki on August 3 and 4, 1919, apparently wrote this note in connection with the fact that at the end of July and beginning of August 1919 strong rumours were current in the West-European press, and were also spread by the Russian Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, about an imminent replacement of the Soviet Government in Russia by a coalition government (with the participation of Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries). *Pravda* on August 6 and *Izvestia* on August 8 published articles ridiculing these rumours, which reflected the imperialists' hopes for the overthrow of Soviet rule in Russia with the aid of social traitors, as had occurred in Hungary. p. 272

[268] This refers to Trotsky's telegram to Lenin reporting that at a meeting in Kiev on August 6, 1919, attended by L. D. Trotsky, Kh. G. Rakovsky, A. I. Yegorov, S. I. Aralov, N. G. Semyonov and V. P. Zatonsky, it was decided to withdraw the Soviet troops to a new line and to surrender to the enemy the Black Sea coast with Odessa and Nikolayev. p. 273

[269] Written on a letter from C. S. Bobrovskaya, a professional revolutionary and member of the Party since 1898, asking Lenin to help fix her up with a job. p. 275

[270] Lenin is referring to Smilga's letter to the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) reporting on the grave situation at the Southern Front. "The chief and basic cause of our reverses," he wrote, "lies in the inability of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Southern Front to command and control the troops.... The Revolutionary Military Council, as now constituted, is ineffectual. Failure to understand one another is so great that the idea of achieving any harmony in the work is ruled out." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 382.) p. 276

[271] This note was apparently written during a meeting of the Council of People's Commissars on August 26, 1919, at which the work of the Food Research Institute was discussed. The C.P.C. decided "that a report by the People's Commissariat for Health and the People's Commissariat for Food on the practical tasks of the Food Research Institute be made within three months. Within the same period, a report by the Food Research Institute to be made on the techniques of producing sugar from sawdust". Fotieva wrote on Lenin's note: "Fulfilled 28.VIII."

Apparently at the same sitting, Krasin wrote a note to Lenin saying that 18 lbs. of sugar could be obtained from one pood of sawdust. Lenin wrote back in reply: "Unbelievable—18 lbs. from one pood!! 45 per cent??? Sugar content? %?" *(Lenin Miscellany XXIV*, p. 29.) Lenin frequently reverted to this subject (see present edition, Vol. 35, Document 230). p. 278

[272] Mamontov's cavalry corps was directed by Denikin to deliver a blow in the rear of the Soviet troops on the Southern Front. On

August 10, 1919, Mamontov's cavalry broke through the front in the vicinity of Novokhopersk and raided a number of towns and villages. This created a threat to the Soviet forces, made offensive operations difficult, and upset the system of command and supply in various places. Lenin considered it an urgent task to organise the rout of Mamontov's corps (see *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 39, pp. 171-72). Mamontov's corps was routed in October-November 1919. p. 279

[273] The note refers to the 21st Division redirected from the Eastern Front to reinforce the troops of the Southern Front.

"*Lashevich's godsons*"—Mamontov's cavalry corps.

"*Sokolnikov's godson*"—F. K. Mironov, who had raised a Don corps in the Saransk area and on August 23, 1919, organised a revolt against the Soviets. The revolt was quelled by S. M. Budyonny's cavalry corps. p. 279

[274] On September 1, 1919, a general meeting of trade unions was held in Tashkent. After hearing Lenin's telegram, the meeting passed a resolution which stated: "...Red Tashkent, in the name of Red Turkestan, vows to fulfil all the assignments given us by the centre, and the red banner, proudly unfurled over Turkestan, will not falter in the hands of Red Tashkent." (*Iz istorii grazhdanskoi voiny v SSSR*, Vol. 2, 1961, p. 737.) p. 280

[275] In his reply to Lenin on September 2, 1919, Stalin wired that on the day of Marchlewski's arrival to conduct negotiations with the Lithuanians, the latter suddenly launched an attack. Obviously, the telegram pointed out, the Lithuanians had used talk about negotiations as a cover in order to lull the vigilance of the Soviet Government. Stalin stated that he had not received any decisions of the Central Committee about conducting negotiations. "Today," he wrote further, "our counter-offensive has begun. We have issued an order to Front Headquarters to heighten vigilance and not allow any envoys to pass the front line without its knowledge and consent." p. 281

[276] Written in reply to a telegram from Trotsky, Serebryakov and Lashevich of September 5, 1919, which in effect proposed altering the previously adopted plan of struggle against Denikin. On September 6, 1919, after discussing the telegram, the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) adopted a decision "to endorse the draft reply of the Commander-in-Chief and to wire that the Politbureau is surprised at this question being raised again". (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 384.) p. 281

[277] Written on a covering letter dated September 12, 1919, from A. K. Paikes, Deputy People's Commissar for State Control, accompanying the report of K. F. Martinovich, Chief Controller of the Southern Front, concerning the evacuation of Southern Front Headquarters from the town of Kozlov. p. 283

[278] Written in connection with a communication from the Smolny Staff Committee reporting numerous cases of abuses, embezzlement and peculation of money, food products and clothing collected for the Red Army. The Committee requested that an investigating commission be appointed and the guilty persons brought to book. p. 283

[279] On September 11, 1919, the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) discussed the arrests of bourgeois intellectuals and directed F. E. Dzerzhinsky, N. I. Bukharin and L. B. Kamenev to have their cases reconsidered. p. 283

[280] At a joint meeting of the Politbureau and Orgbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on September 18, 1919, it was decided to cancel the decision about sending Serebryakov to Selivachov. p. 286

[281] In a letter to Lenin dated September 26, 1919, Chicherin asked that the question of a new peace proposal to the Entente should be discussed in the C.C., R.C.P.(B.). Chicherin wrote that an official proposal from the government could be addressed to the Entente, or Gorky could be asked to write a letter pointing out the Soviet Government's invariable readiness to sign peace. Lenin wrote on Chicherin's letter: "...*Not* in the name of the government.... Confine ourselves to Gorky's letter...." (See present edition, Vol. 42, p. 144.) p. 286

[282] This refers to A. S. Solovyov's memo on "Ukhta Oil" sent to Lenin on September 23, 1919.
On this subject see also this volume, Document 14. p. 287

[283] The letter was written at the request of the Dutch Communist, S. Rutgers, who was sent by the Executive Committee of the Communist International to Holland to organise there the West-European Bureau of the Communist International. p. 291

[284] At a meeting of the Council of Defence on October 17, 1919, Lenin made a report on the subject of reviewing warrants and assignments for military property. The Council of Defence decided to refer this question to a commission consisting of S. D. Markov, A. I. Sviderskiy, A. I. Rykov and E. M. Sklyansky, with instructions, "if agreement is reached", to present the decision for Lenin's signature by Monday, October 20. The Council of Defence discussed also the question of the search for property suitable for military purposes. On October 31, 1919, the Council of Defence endorsed a decision for the review of warrants and assignments for military property and a decision on the search for property suitable for military purposes. p. 292

[285] On October 15, 1919, the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) decided to direct the commission to discuss Regulations on a Committee of Aid for the Wounded and submit them to the C.P.C. on behalf of the Central Committee. On October 28 the draft Regulations "On the Committee of Aid for Wounded and Sick Red Army Men" were examined at a sitting of the C.P.C. On Oc-

tober 29, the Regulations under this title were endorsed by the All-Russia C.E.C. and published in *Izvestia* No. 245, November 1, 1919. p. 293

[286] Lenin is referring to the decision of the Council of Defence dated October 16, 1919. It contained a directive to defend Petrograd to the last drop of blood, without yielding an inch of ground and fighting in the streets. In his proposed plan of struggle against Yudenich's forces, Trotsky also spoke of the need to prepare for street fighting in the city. But, in issuing its main directive for holding Petrograd at all costs until the arrival of reinforcements, the Council of Defence allowed for street fighting only if the enemy succeeded in penetrating into the city, whereas Trotsky's argument was different. He asserted that "for purely military considerations" it would be advantageous to allow the enemy to break into Petrograd which should therefore be converted into "a big trap for the whiteguard troops". p. 294

[287] Written by Lenin on Smirnov's telegram which reported that "the morale in Siberia is a firm, Soviet one. By organising local forces, we shall cope with Kolchak; all that is needed are uniforms and cartridges. Yesterday we went over to the offensive along the whole front, and expect to reach the Ishim in three weeks". Further, mention was made of the desire of the Communists of the 5th Army that the army be transferred to the Southern Front. Smirnov proposed that after the Ishim three divisions of this army should be transferred to the south. "If you provide uniforms for 30,000," he wrote, "we shall immediately mobilise this number of soldiers in Chelyabinsk and the place to which we are going. Send only uniforms; we have and will have all the manpower" (underlinings by Lenin) (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 388).

The document bears a note by Lenin asking that the telegram be returned to him. p. 295

[288] The situation on the Southern Front becoming extremely acute, the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) and the Soviet Government demanded that the military command should first of all eliminate the whiteguard forces which might co-operate closely with Denikin's army. The Urals White Cossack army of General Tolstov, being adjacent to the right flank of Denikin's front, was in a position to make contact with Denikin's forces. It operated in the North Caspian area and diverted to itself troops of the Turkestan Front as well as part of the forces of the 11th Army of the South-Eastern Front. p. 295

[289] In the spring of 1919 Denikin seized Daghestan, Chechen, Ossetia and other national areas of the Northern Caucasus. The mountain peoples responded with a holy war against the whiteguards. Bourgeois-nationalist elements tried to take the leadership of this insurrectionary movement into their hands. However, they

did not succeed in winning over the main mass of the mountain people. Under the leadership of the Caucasian Regional Committee of the R.C.P.(B.), explanatory work was carried out among the insurgents on a large scale and Communist organisations were formed among the partisan forces. The insurrectionary movement rapidly assumed a Bolshevik character. p. 296

[290] In accordance with the directive issued on October 17, 1919, by Commander-in-Chief S. S. Kamenev, a striking force under S. D. Kharlamov was organised in the Kolpino-Tosno area. This group was to deliver an attack against the enemy in the Krasnoye Selo-Gatchina direction. At the same time the command of the Western Front planned a general counter-offensive by the 7th and 15th armies. The 7th Army was to continue the attack in the direction of Gatchina-Volosovo-Yamburg, and the 15th Army in the Pskov-Luga area. p. 297

[291] The Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U. contain an extract from a reconnaissance report of November 17, 1919, which states that in the vicinity of Disna fraternisation took place with Polish soldiers and the lower ranks of the Polish officers. The document bears a note by Lenin: "This is very important! Send copies to Comrade Trotsky for all members of the Politbureau." p. 298

[292] In a letter to Lenin dated October 22, 1919, Chicherin objected to Trotsky's proposal for starting a war against Estonia. He wrote that Yudenich would have to be pursued on Estonian territory only if he retreated there. Chicherin pointed out the need to do everything to avoid invading Estonia. p. 300

[293] Written on a report from Commander-in-Chief S. S. Kamenev asking that drafts of governmental directives on operational matters should first be submitted for consideration to the Supreme Command. The document bears the following notes: "I agree. Only notice should be given not in the name of the Central Committee, but in the name of the Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. *N. Krestinsky*, *L. Kamenev*." "I agree with the request of the Commander-in-Chief. *M. Kalinin*." p. 300

[294] In the autumn of 1919, I. Volny was summoned to Moscow and received by Lenin. During a two-hour conversation, as Bonch-Bruyevich recounted later in his recollections, Lenin showed an interest in the writer's creative plans and questioned him about everything he had seen. p. 301

[295] By a decision of the Central Committee of the Party, more than half the graduating class of Communist students of the Sverdlov University were sent to the front. On October 24, 1919, Lenin delivered a speech to the students of the University who were leaving for the front (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 76-84). p. 302

[296] This letter was written in connection with the departure for the front of Ivanovo-Voznesensk Communists who had been called

up. A meeting of the city Party organisation took place in Ivanovo-Voznesensk on October 3. It called on every member of the Party to devote himself to the cause of routing Denikin's army and instructed the Party organisations to begin mobilising Communists for the front. The first party of mobilised men were seen off to the front on October 22. On October 24, the mobilised Ivanovo-Voznesensk Communists arrived in Moscow. Lenin made a speech to them in the House of Trade Unions (see *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 39, p. 238). Fifty of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Communists were sent to the Headquarters and the Political Department of the South-Eastern Front and the remainder to the 9th Army. p. 302

[297] In a telegram on October 24, 1919, the Chairman of the Pugachev Uyezd Food Conference reported that the surplus appropriation quota had been fulfilled 50 per cent, and in some volosts 10.0 per cent. The telegram stated that the planned quota would be fulfilled before December 1, 1919. p. 303

[298] Written on a memo addressed to Lenin by the Business Manager of the Council of People's Commissars, V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich, who pointed out the urgent need for building public baths with disinfection chambers at Moscow's railway stations in order to combat an imminent epidemic of typhus.

The document bears a note by Semashko: "Z. P. Solovyov. A commission should be set up ... to *urgently* consider the matter. Dr. Levenson is instructed to take the initiative in convening a conference." p. 304

[299] Simultaneously Lenin wrote a similar letter to Kotomkin, Food Commissar of Ufa Gubernia, and on December 11, 1919, wired Reske, agent of the Central Executive Committee in Ufa (with copies to Fotieva and Kotomkin): "Fotieva is not to leave before January 1st. Report fulfilment." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 391.) p. 305

[300] On November 6, 1919, the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) accepted the idea of the Red Army crossing the Estonian frontier to complete the rout of Yudenich's whiteguard forces. On November 14, however, this decision was rescinded at a meeting of the Politbureau which noted that under pressure from the working population the Estonian Government was agreeing to resume peace negotiations and, apparently, would not support Yudenich.

On December 5, 1919, a peace conference of the R.S.F.S.R. and Estonia opened in the town of Yuriev (Tartu), at which an agreement on the cessation of hostilities between the R.S.F.S.R. and Estonia was signed (December 31, 1919). On February 2, 1920, a peace treaty between Soviet Russia and Estonia was concluded. p. 309

[301] On the back of this letter, I. I. Radchenko, Chairman of the Chief Peat Committee, wrote: "A report on the 1919 peat campaign

was sent to Lenin at 1 p.m. on November 11, 1919. On the same day, at 11 p.m., this comment on it was received." p. 310

[302] This telegram was written by decision of the Council of Defence, which dealt with the question of food supplies for the mining and metallurgical workers of the Urals at its sitting on November 20, 1919. Later, on December 15, Lenin sent another telegram to the same destination: "...regarding the supply of food for the Urals workers, only once has a reply been received—on December 15. Reports (how many poods are delivered) must be sent twice a month" (*Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*, p. 245). On January 14, 1920, a telegram signed by Lenin and Rykov was sent to the R.M.C. of the Eastern Front, the Ufa Gubernia Food Commissar, the Commissar of the Samara-Zlatoust railway, and the Special Food Commissar of the 5th Army, pointing out the necessity of supplying food to all workers of the South Urals factories, mines and pits (see *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*, p. 253). p. 311

[303] Lenin is referring to Weissbrot's telegram of November 20, 1919, reporting on the extremely grave situation created in Orenburg by the spread of a typhus epidemic. The absence of firewood and lack of medical personnel made it difficult to combat the epidemic. For the fight against typhus, Weissbrot pointed out, it was necessary to increase the number of hospital beds in Orenburg to five thousand and to transfer an additional two hospitals. p. 312

[304] Written in connection with a report from B. S. Weissbrot dated November 5, 1919, concerning the supply of doctors for the Red Army. Weissbrot pointed out that there was a surplus of doctors in the medical institutions of Moscow and urged the need to call up doctors and send them to the front. Lenin marked off the passage in the report which said that some institutions, for instance, the clinics of the Second Moscow State University, had more doctors exempted than they had altogether before the imperialist war, and wrote "N.B." in the margin and a footnote saying: "Check this fact **carefully** and at once." On another page, where Weissbrot pointed to the existence in Moscow of unnecessary medical establishments, Lenin noted: "how many of them are there?" (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 394.) p. 312

[305] Lenin proposed that a representative from Kiev Gubernia be included in the C.E.C. His proposal was adopted. K. Tolkachov was elected as the representative from Kiev Gubernia to the C.E.C. p. 314

[306] This note was written on a letter from S. M. Kirov and I. P. Babkin dated December 9, 1919, concerning the situation in the Caucasus. The letter stated that there was no exact information whether Kamo had arrived in Baku.

In the autumn of 1919, Kamo, at the head of a combat group, was sent secretly from Moscow with arms, munitions and literature to carry out underground work in the Caucasus. Overcoming

all difficulties, the group arrived safely in Baku and joined in the struggle against the Denikinites. p. 314

[307] In a conversation by direct line with members of the Turkestan Commission, Frunze said: "The refusal to send top-level political workers is due to the big demands of the Southern Front and the Ukraine.... By our efforts we have succeeded in getting ... a few people for both the political and the technical jobs." (*M. V. Frunze na frontakh grazhdanskoi voiny. Sbornik dokumentov*, Moscow, 1941, p. 259.) p. 314

[308] This refers to the article "The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 253-75), which Lenin completed on December 16, 1919. p. 316

[309] This note was apparently written in connection with the discussion at a meeting of the Council of Defence on December 17, 1919, of a report by L. B. Krasin: "On Drawing Up Forms of Accounting Enabling the Work of the Railways To Be Kept Under Review." The final decision on this question was put off until the next meeting; the Council of Defence instructed Y. V. Lomonosov, member of the Board of the Commissariat for Railways, to submit a report on the forms of accounting giving statistical data ("such forms", the decision stipulated, "must be briefer than those presented by Comrade Krasin"). On December 24, the Council of Defence endorsed the programme of measures set forth by Lomonosov, and instructed the People's Commissariat for Railways "to present it tomorrow to Comrade Lenin for signature in the form of a series of decrees" (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 396).

The document bears a note in an unknown hand: "Executed 19.XII." p. 317

[310] In the autumn of 1919 a group of "federalists", headed by G. Lapchinsky, P. Popov and Y. Lander, was formed in the Communist Party of the Ukraine. The group took a bourgeois nationalist stand and started factional splitting activities. On December 13, 1919, the federalists called a meeting of 32 of their supporters at which they declared against the policy of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) towards the Ukraine. Popov and Lander signed a statement on behalf of 32 Ukrainian Party functionaries criticising the composition of the Bureau of the C.C., C.P.(B.) of the Ukraine and its methods of work, and protesting against Party and administrative functionaries for the Ukraine being mobilised from Russian gubernias.

On December 18, 1919, the Orgbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) examined the declaration of the Ukrainian Party functionaries and decided "to reprimand them because, instead of doing positive work in accordance with the directive of the All-Ukraine Revolutionary Committee and the Bureau of the C.C., C.P.(B.) of the Ukraine, they are wasting time and energy in gossip and ir-

responsible political chicanery, which is a violation of Party discipline....” p. 317

[311] This refers to the appointment of P. N. Lepeshinsky to Turkestan, where he worked as Deputy People’s Commissar for Education. p. 318

[312] On December 21, 1919, a letter signed by Lenin was sent also to the Party Committee and Executive Committee of Tula Gubernia. It stressed the need for sending not less than 400 truckloads of potatoes to the Moscow working people within the next ten days. “On your achievements, energy and determination,” the letter stated, “depend the salvation of the working class, the consolidation of the gains of the revolution, and its further successes and final triumph.” (*Lenin Miscellany XXIV*, p. 146.) p. 319

[313] This note was apparently written in connection with a sitting of the Narrow Council of People’s Commissars on December 18, 1919, which discussed a request from the Moscow Gubernia Executive Committee for the cancellation of a circular of the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs on the use of church buildings for school purposes. The Narrow C.P.C. resolved to reject the request of the Moscow Gubernia Executive Committee, and to direct the People’s Commissariats for Education, Justice and Internal Affairs to draft a relevant instruction and submit it to the Narrow C.P.C. by December 29, 1919. p. 320

[314] Written on a telegram sent from Ruzayevka by J. Kh. Peters, Chairman of the Special Committee for Introducing Martial Law on the Railways. It was received late in the evening on December 25, 1919, and contained a proposal for recalling skilled workers of railway repair-shops and depots from the army, since locomotive repairs had decreased almost everywhere, and in some places dropped to a catastrophic minimum.

At a meeting of the Council of Defence on December 31, after discussion of a draft decision put forward by L. B. Krasin “on withdrawing from the army skilled railway repair-shop men and workers”, it was decided to regard the question as settled, in view of Krasin’s statement that in practice it had already been solved. p. 321

[315] Written in reply to I. N. Smirnov’s telegram addressed to Lenin reporting on the progress of work for dispatching coal from Kolchugino and the Kuznetsk Basin.

Lenin gave directives for the troops of the Red Army to guard the property left by Kolchak’s retreating army at Omsk and along the railway line to Irkutsk. p. 322

[316] This refers to the meeting of the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on December 27, 1919, which discussed the following: an inquiry by Chicherin whether he could send the Georgian Government a proposal for joint military operations against Denikin without recognising that government; a report by Chicherin that the Estonians agreed to give the military guarantees asked for on

condition of their being granted the right to construct fortifications on the left bank of the Narova; a statement by Chicherin concerning the Petrograd branch of ROSTA, which had published a communication of a military nature that could be interpreted by the Entente and Finland as an intention on the part of Soviet Russia to launch an attack against Finland, and other questions. p. 323

[317] *The Central Collegium of Agitational Centres* was established by a decision of the Council of Defence on May 13, 1919, for the purpose of organising centres of agitation and education at railway junctions and troop entrainment points. p. 323

[318] On the previous day, December 29, 1919, Lenin received Maria Movshovich in his office in the Kremlin. She had come to Moscow from the front because her husband had fallen ill with typhus and her daughter was left without anyone to look after her. Lenin talked to her about her work in the Red Army and the situation at the front. On the following day he visited her and promised his help in arranging her personal affairs. p. 323

[319] Written on a telegram from V. Yushin of Oshta village, Olonets Gubernia, who complained that the local authorities had requisitioned from him one of his three cows. Yushin pointed out that his family consisted of nine persons and his son was in the Red Army. Brichkina sent a copy of the telegram to Tsyurupa in the People's Commissariat for Food. p. 324

[320] Written on a telegram telephoned to Lenin by V. N. Yakovleva, a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Food, and received by C.P.C. secretary M. I. Glyasser on January 1, 1920, at 4.25 p.m. It concerned information which had arrived on December 30 and 31 about the progress of the loading and dispatch of food trains to Moscow. Yakovleva reported also the absence of information from Kazan and Simbirsk, since the direct line was out of action on both December 30 and 31, and that in Samara the number of empties provided for food was considerably less than what was required.

At a meeting of the Council of Defence on January 2, 1920, Lenin delivered a report on "Military Accountancy of the People's Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs and the People's Commissariat for Railways". p. 324

[321] *Die Freiheit*—a daily newspaper, organ of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, published in Berlin from November 15, 1918, to September 30, 1922. p. 326

[322] Lenin is referring to the Extraordinary Congress of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, held in Leipzig between November 30 and December 6, 1919. Under pressure from Left-wing members of the party, the Congress adopted a programme of action which supported the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the system of Soviets. At the Congress, the proletarian wing of the party proposed "immediate and uncon-

ditional affiliation to the Third International". (See present edition, Vol. 31, p. 74.) p. 326

[323] The note to Svidersky was written on a letter to Lenin from the workers of the Balashinsk factory, who wrote: "We workers receive food, exclusively bread, at intervals of 5 to 14 days, and no other products. If potatoes are issued from the centre they stand for about a month on the railway line.... Comrade Lenin, we ask you to help us improve our position so that we can do better work for the good and prosperity of our revolutionary Russia." p. 327

[324] On January 5, 1920, Tsyurupa sent a letter to the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) in which he pointed out that the decision adopted by the Council of People's Commissars on January 3, 1920, permitting agencies of the Supreme Economic Council to purchase forage at free prices in cases where the State Control found it impossible for agencies of the People's Commissariat for Food to supply forage to S.E.C. enterprises, violated the principles of the Food Commissariat's food policy and did away with the forage procurement monopoly. He requested that the matter be discussed in the C.C., R.C.P.(B.). p. 328

[325] Written in reply to a telegram to Lenin from the Revolutionary Military Council of the 3rd Army on January 10, 1920, which proposed that the army be switched over to the work of restoring the national economy. On January 13, 1920, in its decision on Lenin's report concerning the organisation of the 1st Labour Army, the Council of People's Commissars welcomed the proposal of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 3rd Army. A commission consisting of Lenin, Krasin, Rykov, Tomsky, Trotsky and Tsyurupa was set up to draft proposals for the most expedient ways of utilising the 3rd Army. By its decree of January 15, 1920, the Council of Defence converted the 3rd Army into the 1st Labour Army and set up a Revolutionary Council of the 1st Labour Army from among members of the Revolutionary Military Council, representatives of the People's Commissariats for Food, Agriculture, Railways, and Labour, and representatives of the Supreme Economic Council. On January 17 and 18, the question of using military units on the economic front was discussed in the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.). The Politbureau approved the decision of the Council of Defence to convert the 3rd Army into the 1st Labour Army and passed a decision calling for plans to be drawn up for the creation of Kuban-Grozny, Ukrainian, Kazan. and Petrograd Labour Armies. On January 21, 1920, the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. by agreement with the All-Ukraine Revolutionary Committee passed a decision to form a Ukrainian Labour Army in the area of the South-Western Front. On February 10, the Council of Defence decreed that the 7th Army was to be renamed the Petrograd Revolutionary Army of Labour. At the end of January and beginning of February, the Reserve Army of the Republic and units of the 2nd Army were drawn into the work of economic construction, the troops of the

8th Army in March, and certain other military formations somewhat later. With the outbreak of the war against bourgeois-landowner Poland and Wrangel, the labour armies had to be switched back to battle readiness. p. 328

[326] On January 15, 1920, Tsyurupa communicated Lenin's instruction to M. K. Vladimirov, Chairman of the Special Food Commission of the Southern Front, and asked him to report on the state of food work in the Don Region. p. 330

[327] Written on a report from P. N. Solonko concerning deposits of coal, pyrites and white sand for chinaware in the vicinity of Bryansk. "The area on which coal has been discovered," Solonko stated, "is approximately 40 versts square. With the present means and productivity of labour, the yield of coal could amount to about 3,500,000 poods annually, and if production is well organised ... the yield could be more than 10 million poods." Lenin wrote on the envelope containing Solonko's report: "**From P. N. Solonko** *on coal in the Maltsev area*."

On January 15, 1920, Lenin received from the Chief Coal Committee a memo giving information about the coal deposits near Bryansk. "I am sending you the present information," wrote A. Lomov. "One of our best coal geologists has promised to go to the site" (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 403). p. 330

[328] At its meeting on January 17, 1920, the Council of People's Commissars endorsed a decision for the collection of whiteguard literature. The decision was published (in part) in *Pravda* and in *Izvestia* No. 15, January 24, 1920. p. 331

[329] The paragraph in *Izvestia*, entitled "A Wealth of Oil Products", stated that the oil fields near Berchogur, in the neighbourhood of Zhilaya Kosa, had available stocks amounting to 20 million poods of oil, 300,000 poods of paraffin and 200,000 poods of petrol. In addition, oil was gushing from four wells. p. 331

[330] Trotsky's telegram to Frunze, Commander of the Turkestan Front, gave directives for the deployment of the 4th Army, which had been converted into a labour army for the construction of the Alexandrov-Gai-Emba railway line and the reconstruction of the: Krasny Kut-Alexandrov-Gai line to a broad gauge.

On January 19, Frunze signed an order for the construction of the Emba railway line by the 4th Army. p. 332

[331] In a telephone message on January 18, 1920, People's Commissar for Health N. A. Semashko reported that the troop train with B. S. Weissbrot's Sanitary Commission, which was sent to the Southern Front and the Ukraine to combat typhus, was proceeding very slowly. "I request," wrote Semashko, "1) an immediate order for the train to be speeded up, 2) special supervision over it, 3) investigation of the causes of delay and a trial of those to blame by a revolutionary tribunal." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 404.) p. 333

[332] In a note to Lenin, Kamenev protested against the decision of the Narrow Council of People's Commissars to close down the Nikitsky Theatre. Kamenev believed this question came within the competence of the local, and not the central, authorities, in this case the Moscow Department of Education. On January 20, 1920, the Council of People's Commissars discussed the closure of the Nikitsky Theatre. It endorsed the decision of the Narrow Council and instructed it "to call in representatives of the Moscow Soviet in matters concerning Moscow". (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 405.) p. 333

[333] Lenin's telegram was written in connection with the attempt by Bashkir bourgeois nationalists to carry out a coup d'état in Bashkiria in January 1920. The bourgeois nationalist A.-Z. A. Validov and a group of his followers who, under pressure from the working people, came over to the side of Soviets in February 1919, had not changed their views or abandoned their aim to secure bourgeois autonomy for Bashkiria.

In the summer of 1919 the Validov group set up a "Provisional Central Bureau of the Communists of Bashkiria" headed by Yumagulov, who was at the same time Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee organised by the Validov group. Validov's "Bureau" tried to assume leadership of the Party organisations of Bashkiria although it had not been endorsed by the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.). In January 1920, on the proposal of Validov's supporter, K. M. Rakai, the Bashkir Revolutionary Committee set up a Foreign Relations Department. When the Party Regional Committee on January 13, 1920, condemned this step and resolved to recall Rakai from the posts he held, the Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee, Yumagulov, tried to carry out a coup d'état. On the night of January 13, 1920, by his order the members of the Party Regional Committee and other Communists were arrested, and a manifesto was issued accusing them of conspiring against the Bashkir Republic.

The telegram of the C.E.C. of January 20, 1920, mentioned by Lenin, stated: "In view of the friction between the Bashkir Revolutionary Committee and the Ufa Gubernia Revolutionary Committee, and your accusation against Comrade Eltsin of deviating from the policy of the central government, the C.E.C. by agreement with the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) sent to Sterlitamak Comrades Artyom (Sergeyev), Preobrazhensky and Samoilov, who have no local Ufa interests and are incapable of pursuing a localist, chauvinist policy. The C.E.C. considers it improbable and quite out of the question that they could carry on agitation against the Bashkir Republic. The C.E.C. therefore orders you immediately, upon Comrade Artyom's directives, to free all the arrested members of the Regional Committee and other Communists, to cancel your report of a conspiracy, and make known to the population and army units that the arrests were due to a misunderstanding." (*Obrazovaniye Bashkirskoi ASSR. Sbornik dokumentov i matertalov*, Ufa, 1959, p. 444.)

Shortly afterwards, Validov, Yumagulov and Rakai were recalled from Bashkiria and expelled from the Party. p. 333

[334] This refers to the stand taken by the Siberian Revolutionary Committee and the Revolutionary Military Council of the 5th Army in the talks which took place on January 19, 1920, with a delegation from the "Political Centre", which was formed from representatives of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, Zemstvo members and co-operators at an all-Siberia conference of Zemstvos and towns held in Irkutsk on November 12, 1919. When, on January 5, 1920, Irkutsk passed into the hands of the insurgent workers, soldiers and peasants, the "Political Centre" announced that it had assumed power in the city. The real organs of power in Irkutsk, however, were the headquarters of the armed workers' and peasants' detachments and the Military Revolutionary Committee, which acted under the leadership of the Irkutsk Committee of the R.C.P.(B.). The question of doing away with the "Political Centre" was not raised at once, since it was trusted to some extent by a section of the population and had the support of considerable forces of the interventionists in Irkutsk Gubernia and the Trans-Baikal area. The "Political Centre" aimed at the creation of a "democratic" bourgeois state in Eastern Siberia. At the talks with the Siberian Revolutionary Committee, its delegation proposed that the further advance eastward of the 5th Army should be halted and that a buffer state should be set up in Eastern Siberia, but the Siberian Revolutionary Committee insisted on its own conditions, namely, that the Red Army advance to Baikal and a buffer state be organised in the Trans-Baikal area.

Meanwhile the balance of forces in Irkutsk underwent a radical change, one which was not to the advantage of the "Political Centre". On January 21, 1920, all power in Irkutsk passed into the hands of the Revolutionary Committee. p. 334

[335] This refers to the troops of the Czechoslovak Corps, which in 1918-19 were used by the Entente imperialists and the Russian whiteguards as a strike force against the Soviets, and now were retreating under the blows of the Red Army. On January 19, 1920, the Czechoslovak Corps command announced that it was ceasing military operations and was ready to enter into negotiations for a truce with the Soviet army command. Soviet envoys went to Taishet railway station to present the terms for a truce but the White Czechoslovak command refused to negotiate. The truce was not signed until February 7. See also Note 72. p. 335

[336] Written on the back of Krestinsky's note to Lenin concerning the theses of a resolution on finance written by Y. Larin for the Third All-Russia Congress of Economic Councils (January 23-29, 1920). "I regard them as impracticable and politically harmful," wrote Krestinsky.

On January 23, in view of Larin's repeated statements conflicting with the policy of the Party, the Politbureau of the C.C.,

R.C.P.(B.) adopted a decision to remove him from the Board of the Supreme Economic Council. p. 335

[337] The questions raised in Yermakov's telegram were discussed in the Council of Defence on January 16 and 23, 1920. The decision quoted by Lenin was adopted by the Council on January 23. p. 336

[338] Written on a memo from G. V. Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, reporting cases of violation of the decision of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) that all information on matters of foreign policy should first be submitted to censorship. Specific mention was made of an interview given by V. P. Zatonsky (see *Vecherniye Izvestia* No. 450, January 26, 1920). Lenin sent the document to the Russian Telegraph Agency (ROSTA) marked: "To be returned." On the same day, P. M. Kerzhentsev, the head of ROSTA, replied to Lenin that measures had been taken for all correspondence concerning foreign affairs to be sent to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs for perusal. On the letter Lenin wrote: "To be kept in the dossier on ROSTA." On February 21, 1920, in connection with a letter from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs about the irresponsible statement of a Moscow journalist speaking on the radio on questions of Soviet foreign policy, Lenin again wrote to Kerzhentsev: "Why was this not sent for censorship? Who is responsible?" (*Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*, p. 267.) p. 337

[339] This refers to G. M. Krzhizhanovsky's pamphlet *The Main Tasks of the Electrification of Russia*. Lenin sent the manuscript of the pamphlet directly to the printers to have it published in time for the first session of the C.E.C., 7th convocation. p. 337

[340] A. F. Shorin, constructor and inventor, who worked in the Nizhni-Novgorod Radio Laboratory, was arrested owing to a misunderstanding and quickly released. p. 338

[341] S. T. Kovylkin was at that time head of the South-Eastern Railway. M. M. Arzhanov, Chief of the Central Board of Military Communications of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, was sent to Saratov to speed up the movement of troops to the Southern Front. p. 339

[342] In 1920, Y. O. Bumazhny was Secretary of the Urals Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party; K. G. Maximov was Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council's Industrial Bureau in the Urals and authorised agent of the Council of Labour and Defence for the restoration of Urals industry. The friction between the Revolutionary Military Council of the Labour Army and departmental representatives was mainly over the question of the terms of reference of the Revolutionary Military Council. Lenin's telegram was apparently a reply to an inquiry about ways of settling the questions in dispute between the Revolutionary Military Council and the departments. p. 339

[343] The article proposed that in order to improve food supplies for the workers, use should be made of suburban land plots for developing collective market-gardening and livestock breeding, and for organising auxiliary farms. p. 341

[344] In the beginning of February 1920 preparations were made for a new offensive of the Red Army on the Caucasian Front. At the same time there was a lack of co-ordination between the armies of the front. The Mounted Army had been weakened in previous engagements; exhaustion of the troops and shortage of supplies were acutely felt. Owing to a relaxation of political and educational work, instances of infringement of military discipline began to occur in the units.

The Composite Cavalry Corps, which co-operated with the 1st Mounted Army, was seriously affected. Counter-revolutionary elements were active at Corps Headquarters. On the night of February 2, Corps Commissar, V. N. Mikeladze, was murdered by counter-revolutionaries. All these circumstances in conjunction with the extremely complex military situation caused Lenin great anxiety, since they jeopardised the Red Army's offensive in the Northern Caucasus, the aim of which was the final defeat of the enemy. p. 341

[345] This refers to the formation of the Far Eastern Republic as a buffer state. The F.E.R. was established in April 1920 on the territory of the Trans-Baikal, Amur, Primorye, and Kamchatka regions and Northern Sakhalin. The formation of the F.E.R.—a state which, though bourgeois-democratic in form, carried out a Soviet policy—was in the interests of Soviet Russia, which sought to obtain a long respite on the Eastern Front and to avoid war with Japan.

After the territories of the Far East (with the exception of Northern Sakhalin) had been cleared of interventionists and white-guards, the People's Assembly of the Far Eastern Republic on November 14, 1922, passed a decision to unite with the R.S.F.S.R. On November 15, 1922, the All-Russia C.E.C. announced the incorporation of the Far Eastern Republic into the R.S.F.S.R. p. 342

[346] Stalin wired Lenin on February 18, 1920, that he disagreed with the order of the Commander-in-Chief to detach units of the Ukrainian Labour Army for reinforcing the front and asked to be summoned to Moscow to clear the matter up. On February 19, a telegram in reply signed by Lenin was sent to Stalin worded according to the text quoted in the present note. p. 342

[347] Written in reply to Stalin's telegram to Lenin saying: "I am not clear why the Caucasian Front is primarily my concern.... Reinforcement of the Caucasian Front is wholly the concern of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, the members of which, according to my information, are in good health, and

not the concern of Stalin, who is overworked as it is." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 409.) p. 343

[348] Lenin's telegram received in Saratov bears the note: "The first report of what has been done was sent to Lenin on 6/III." p. 346

[349] On the back of Lenin's letter is a memo by A. I. Svidersky giving information about the food supplied to the workers of the Lyubertsy factory. Over this Lenin wrote: "We shall verify this tomorrow by telephone and keep it *in the files*." p. 346

[350] Regarding this letter, Yaroslavsky wrote subsequently: "It was addressed to three comrades who were then members of the Perm Gubernia Committee. At that time the situation in Usolye was rather grave. Shortly before this, a new front—the Kai-Cherdyn Front—had been formed there. Remnants of Kolchak's forces and northern interventionists had organised bands in Cherdyn, where they had used the connections of the recently abolished Kolchak regime and exploited the dissatisfaction caused by the stupid bungling of some of the local Party officials who had antagonised the Zyryan people as well. As far as I remember, the Perm Gubernia Committee, on receiving Lenin's letter, sent a man to Usolye to ascertain the state of affairs on the spot, after which a commission was set up which reviewed the composition of the leading bodies and changed it at a specially convened Party conference." (*Pravda* No. 274, November 24, 1929.) p. 346

[351] This refers to the "Mandate to Comrade Vinogradov, delegate from the Second Vesyegonsk Uyezd Congress of workers engaged in education and socialist culture", which dealt with the grave material plight of the school staffs. On February 27, 1920, Vinogradov was received by Lenin. During their talk, which lasted 45 minutes, Lenin wrote the present letter. A favourable decision was reached in regard to improving the material position of the Vesyegonsk teachers. p. 348

[352] In the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U. there is a note of Lenin's to Alferov: "You promised information about the oil pipeline but did not give it!", and a reply from Alferov on the construction of the Emba oil pipeline marked "27.II.Alferov".

The construction of the Emba pipeline was discussed at a meeting of the Council of Defence on March 5, 1920. The Council decided to instruct the Board of the Supreme Economic Council to examine the plan for the construction of the Emba pipeline and submit it to the Council of People's Commissars in final form, and to ascertain whether an inquiry had been made abroad for ordering the pipes required. p. 349

[353] *The Free Economic Society* was founded in 1765, with the object, as laid down in its statutes, "of disseminating within the country information useful for agriculture and industry". The society carried out surveys by questionnaires and expeditions for studying various branches of the economy and regions of the country.

It possessed a large library of some 200,000 volumes. After the October Revolution the library became part of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library in Leningrad. p. 349

[354] Written in connection with the election of the Mensheviks F. I. Dan and L. Martov to the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies.

In the elections to the Moscow Soviet, which were held in the second half of February and early March 1920, 1,566 deputies were returned, including 1,316 Communists (84%), 52 Communist sympathisers (4%), and 46 Mensheviks (3%). p. 350

[355] George Lansbury, editor of the British newspaper *The Daily Herald*, visited Soviet Russia in February 1920. On February 21 he was received by Lenin who had a detailed conversation with him, in particular on the attitude of the Bolsheviks to religion. On returning to England, Lansbury sent Lenin a letter in which he wrote: "Many thanks to you and all your colleagues for the help you have given me in my try to understand your revolution." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 412.) p. 351

[356] N. N. Kuzmin, a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 6th Army, asked Lenin about the attitude to be adopted towards whiteguard officers who had laid down their arms and declared their readiness to work in Soviet Russia. p. 352

[357] This refers to a commission of the C.P.C. headed by G. I. Oppokov (A. Lomov) which was sent to Archangel to take measures to restore economic and political life in the northern areas of Soviet Russia that had been liberated from the whiteguards and interventionists, and to register and distribute the property seized there. p. 352

[358] This refers to valuable antiques, luxury articles and works of art that had been nationalised. In February 1919, Maxim Gorky set up a committee of experts in Petrograd to select and value these articles. Up to October 1, 1920, this committee, consisting of 80 persons, had selected, as Gorky wrote, "120,000 various articles" (*V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky. Pisma, vospominaniya, dokumenty* [V. I. Lenin and A. M. Gorky. Letters, Recollections, Documents], 1961, p. 164). This work, however, progressed extremely slowly. On Gorky's letter, Lenin wrote: "only *8* stores out of *33* have been gone through" (ibid.). p. 352

[359] Written in reply to Trotsky's telegram from Ekaterinburg dated March 5, 1920, in which he reported a considerable increase in food procurements in districts of the Urals and Siberia, complained that the central departments did not even reply to inquiries from the Siberian and Urals organisations, and asserted that only the establishment of regional centres with wide powers could put the work on a proper footing. On the text of the telegram Lenin wrote his remarks about the decision on Ishim Uyezd and the request that Brunovsky be kept for food work, and also about meat procurement in Siberia: "1) Remains in Tyumen Gubernia.

"2) No objection to Brunovsky (for the Food Commissariat)
"3) The Food Commissariat has issued an order to organise salting centres." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 413.)
p. 353

[360] On March 8, 1920, the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) discussed the question of the People's Commissar for Railways in view of the fact that Krasin was going abroad. It was decided: "That Comrade Lenin be asked to communicate with Comrade Trotsky" (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 413). On March 20, the Politbureau adopted a decision to put through the Presidium of the C.E.C. and the Council of People's Commissars Trotsky's appointment as Acting People's Commissar for Railways.
p. 354

[361] Written in reply to a telegram from I. N. Smirnov, Chairman of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee, who reported that the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries made it a condition for their participation in the buffer state government (see Note 345) that no territories should be conceded in the Far East. Smirnov wrote: "Communicate your decision directly to Janson in Karakhan's code and to me at the Siberian Revolutionary Committee." On this telegram Lenin wrote the draft of a reply to Smirnov, on which there is a note: "Agreed. *N. Krestinsky*, *L. Kamenev*." At the same time, Lenin sent a telegram to Janson in Irkutsk: "The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries must join the buffer state government without any conditions. If they do not submit to us without any conditions they will be arrested." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 413.) p. 354

[362] On March 10, 1920, Lenin received V. S. Smirnov (Malkov) and M. Z. Manuilsky, representatives of Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia, and A. S. Kiselyov, a member of the C.E.C. (in the past a leading member of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Party organisation). In accordance with a decision of the Gubernia Party Committee of March 6, they asked Lenin to increase the supply of food to Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia, to remove the intercepting detachments in Yuriev-Polsky Uyezd, Vladimir Gubernia, to include it in Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia and to provide Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia at first open water with ships and barges for transporting foodstuffs, seed, etc. On the same day the Council of Defence discussed a report by A. B. Khalatov, a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Food, concerning the supply of food for Ivanovo-Voznesensk workers, and the question of joining Yuriev-Polsky Uyezd to Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia. The Council of Defence resolved: "That the Chief Board of Water Transport be instructed to take urgent measures to supply the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia Food Committee with tonnage to the amount of 400,000 poods for urgent delivery of seed potatoes from the Simbirsk, Kazan and Yaroslavl gubernias." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 414.) p. 355

[363] Written on a letter from J. Berzin to Lenin of March 11, 1920, reporting that the censorship of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs had let through a letter of the Menshevik Abramovich addressed abroad to R. Hilferding, one of the opportunist leaders of German Social-Democracy. Berzin suggested that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs should be purged of hostile elements. p. 356

[364] *The Ukrainian petty-bourgeois nationalist Borotba Party* arose in May 1918 after the split in the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionary Party. It got its name from the central organ of the party—the newspaper *Borotba* (Struggle). The Borotbists twice applied to the Executive Committee of the Communist International to be allowed to affiliate to the Communist International. On February 26, 1920, the Communist International by a special decision called on the Borotbists to dissolve their party and merge with the C.P.(B.) of the Ukraine.

Owing to the growing influence of the Bolsheviks among the mass of the peasants and the successes of Soviet power in the Ukraine, the Borotbists at their conference in the middle of March 1920 were compelled to pass a decision to dissolve their party. A decision to admit the Borotbists to membership of the Ukrainian C.P.(B.) was adopted at the Fourth All-Ukraine Conference of the C.P.(B.)U., which took place from March 17 to 23, 1920. p. 357

[365] At its meeting on March 16, 1920, the Council of People's Commissars discussed the draft of a decree presented by L. B. Krasin enabling orders to be placed abroad for locomotives and spare parts for railway transport repairs. Three hundred million rubles in gold were earmarked for this purpose. Lenin's note was apparently written at this meeting. p. 358

[366] Lenin wrote this note on Krasin's letter concerning the purchase of locomotives from American trusts. Krasin wrote that there were only three trusts in the U.S.A. from which locomotives could be obtained. It was intended to start an immediate correspondence with them by radio from Scandinavia or London. Erasin, however, expressed the fear that as a result of this publicity a "host" of middlemen would spring up between him and these trusts as the main suppliers, and that this would not only send the price up but also delay delivery. p. 358

[367] Lenin urged the need for intensified and uninterrupted work on locomotive repairs in view of the catastrophic state of railway transport, and this problem was repeatedly discussed by the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Defence. Thus, on February 5, 1920, the C.P.C. heard a report by Krasin on special privileges for workers engaged in locomotive repairs and the production of spare parts for transport. On February 27, the Council of Defence discussed non-fulfilment by the People's Commissariat for Food of the decree granting bonuses to workers who repaired trains in their spare time. On March 16, following a

report by G. N. Melnichansky (Chairman of the Moscow Gubernia Council of Trade Unions), the C.P.C. adopted a decision to organise locomotive repair in the best workshops, where work would be carried on in three shifts round the clock. At the same meeting the Council discussed a number of other measures for improving the state of the railway transport. p. 358

[368] In a letter dated March 5, 1920, Maxim Gorky asked Lenin to keep the 1,800 rations for Petrograd scientists intact, to release from prison as soon as possible the well-known chemist A. V. Sapozhnikov, and to enable the physician I. I. Manukhin to carry out research on a vaccine against typhus (see *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky. Pisma, vospominaniya, dokumenty*, Moscow, 1961, pp. 146-47). p. 359

[369] This note to Radek was written in connection with a report that Karl Liebknecht's wife was in an extremely agitated state, one reason for which was that relatives of hers, engineers living in Rostov, had been transferred to Berlin, about which she had written to Lunacharsky. p. 360

[370] This refers to the elections to the C.C., C.P.(B.) of the Ukraine at the Fourth Conference of the C.P.(B.)U. held in Kharkov from March 17 to 23, 1920.

The work of the conference was marked by a bitter struggle of the Leninists against an oppositional group of Democratic Centralists headed by T. Sapronov, V. Boguslavsky, Y. Drobnis, M. Farbman (Rafail) and others. During the elections to the Central Committee of the C.P.(B.)U. the Democratic Centralists succeeded by factional devices (voting by lists, etc.) in getting a majority of their supporters into the Central Committee and in sending their delegates to the Ninth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.).

105 conference delegates who upheld the Leninist line refused to take part in the elections to the C.C. of the C.P.(B.)U. and denounced them as non-valid. Since the Central Committee elected by the conference did not reflect the will of the majority of the Ukrainian Communists, the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) decided it should be dissolved and replaced by a provisional C.C. of the C.P.(B.)U. consisting of V. P. Zatonsky, F. Y. Kon, S. V. Kosior. D. Z. Manuilsky, G. I. Petrovsky, F. A. Sergeyev (Artyom), V. Y. Chubar, and others. In order to explain the measures taken to suppress the factional activity of the Democratic Centralists in the Ukraine, the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on April 16, 1920, published an open letter addressed to all Party organisations in the Ukraine. This letter was approved by all the Party organisations of the Republic. To strengthen the Ukrainian Party organisations, the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) put a large group of experienced Party workers at the disposal of the C.C., C.P.(B.)U. In May 1920 alone, 674 Communists were sent to the Ukraine. By a decision of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) of April 5, 1920, a re-registration of members of the Communist Party of the Ukraine was carried out. p. 360

[371] V. P. Milyutin's report on the list of enterprises selected for Group I was made before the Council of People's Commissars on March 23, 1920. On March 24, 1920, the list drawn up by the commission was submitted by the Council of People's Commissars to the All-Russia C.E.C. for endorsement. p. 361

[372] Written by Lenin following the systematic violations by the Turkestan Commission of the decision of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) prescribing that relations with Bukhara, Khiva, Persia and Afghanistan were to be controlled by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. By its decision of September 29, 1919, the Orgbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) had charged the Turkestan Commission with the conduct of foreign relations in accordance with the instructions and under the control of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. The Turkestan Commission, however, did not carry out the instructions of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. The latter demanded that G. I. Broido should be removed from leadership of the Department of Foreign Relations and that a department be set up consisting of A. N. Golub, A. A. Mashitsky, D. Y. Gopner and a representative of the Turkestan Central Executive Committee endorsed by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, but the Turkestan Commission refused to comply and appointed Heller head of the Department of Foreign Relations.

By a decision of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) on March 17, 1920, foreign policy functions were taken out of the hands of the Turkestan Commission, and the Department of Foreign Relations was made directly subordinate to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. But the Turkestan Commission objected to this. Golub, Mashitsky and Gopner were removed from office and forbidden to communicate with the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. The inquiries of the Commissariat went unanswered.

The last sentence in the manuscript was deleted and left out in the telegram. p. 362

[373] Written on a letter from V. V. Kosior, Chairman of the All-Ukraine Council of Trade Unions, who reported on the difficulties of work in the Donets Basin and big industrial centres of the south (Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, Taganrog, etc.) due to lack of personnel. To strengthen the work he proposed that some of the leading workers of Petrograd and Moscow should be transferred to the Donets Basin for restoring mines, pits, and metallurgical and processing factories. p. 363

[374] The town of Grozny was liberated by the Red Army on March 25, 1920, at the same time as the town of Maikop. The oil wells were intact and in full working order. p. 363

[375] It has not been possible to establish what decision of the Organising Bureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) this refers to. p. 364

[376] *Uratadze*—a representative of the Georgian Menshevik government, who had arrived in Rostov to go from there to Moscow for

diplomatic talks with the Soviet Government; he was detained in Rostov by order of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Caucasian Front, about which Lenin was informed by Orjonikidze. p. 367

[377] This refers to the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission's investigation into the case of a bogus co-operative organisation in Petrograd. In 1918, the former owners of a publishing house and print-shop, in order to prevent them from being nationalised, organised a bogus co-operative which obtained orders from various institutions by fraudulent means. The matter was investigated by the Extraordinary Commission in accordance with Lenin's directive. The bogus co-operative was abolished. The print-shop was turned over to the Petrograd Economic Council and the publishing house to the Petrograd Branch of State Publishers. p. 368

[378] The note was written in connection with a breach of labour discipline by Lenin's chauffeur, S. K. Gil. p. 368

[379] Written in reply to a telegram of April 17, 1920, in which the Council of the 1st Labour Army asked that boundary changes should be stopped and that it be allowed to draft maps of the Urals and Cis-Urals gubernias and uyezds. On Lenin's motion this question was discussed by the Council of People's Commissars on April 20, 1920. In accordance with its decision, the present telegram was sent to the Council of the 1st Labour Army.

The same meeting discussed a "Protest of the 1st Labour Army Concerning the New Division of the Tyumen and Chelyabinsk Gubernias". The C.P.C. adopted the decision quoted in the second telegram. p. 370

[380] This note was written on a letter from Professor S. P. Kostychev to Maxim Gorky about the work of the Plant Physiology Laboratory of Petrograd University, which was of great scientific and practical interest. The letter gave a list of the most essential articles and materials, the lack of which was greatly impeding the work of the laboratory. On April 22, 1920, Gorky gave this letter to Lenin and asked him to arrange for Professor Kostychev to be supplied with the necessary materials.

At the bottom of Lenin's note the People's Commissar for Health added the words: "I fully agree with Comrade Lenin's proposal and for my part ask that Comrade Gorky be given every assistance. *N. Semashko.*" p. 370

[381] In his reply to Lenin, Rykov wrote that on the following day he would order the newspaper *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* to stop printing news about the loading and transportation of fuel, leaving only news of procurements. p. 371

[382] In the manuscript of the telegram, the word "details" has been crossed out and the words "the form of Vinnichenko's co-operation in government activities" have been written in an unknown hand.

In the spring of 1920, V. K. Vinnichenko, who was then living as an emigrant in Vienna, declared that he was breaking his connections with the Ukrainian Mensheviks and accepting the platform of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Vinnichenko requested the Government of the R.S.F.S.R. to allow him to come to the Ukraine and to give him an opportunity of actively participating in the struggle against the White Poles and Wrangel, as well as in building the Soviet Ukraine.

In view of the fact that Vinnichenko and other nationalist leaders had the backing of a considerable number of Ukrainian émigrés, and in order to win away from them elements belonging to the working people who had been misled, it was decided to draw Vinnichenko into Soviet work. The question was discussed several times in the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) and the C.C., C.P.(B.)U.

On September 6, 1920, by a decision of the Politbureau of the C.C., C.P.(B.)U. Vinnichenko was admitted to membership of the Ukrainian Communist Party and appointed Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian S.S.R. On the same day the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) passed the following decision regarding Vinnichenko: "The Politbureau takes note of Comrade Vinnichenko's variable moods and therefore, while not objecting to his immediate admission into the Party, the Political Bureau proposes that he should not be given any post, and should first be tested in practical work." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 424.)

In October 1920 Vinnichenko again emigrated abroad. p. 372

[383] This note to Trotsky was written on Chicherin's letter to Lenin dated May 4, 1920, informing him about Lord Curzon's radio message. The message suggested a general amnesty and a conciliatory attitude to the defeated whiteguards and spoke of a cessation of military operations in the Crimea and the Caucasus. In Chicherin's opinion, the proposal for direct talks with Wrangel with the participation of a British officer would be found distasteful by every real whiteguard and was a step towards practical recognition of Soviet Russia by Great Britain. Chicherin proposed "agreeing to an amnesty for Wrangel and to halting further penetration into the Caucasus, where we have already captured everything of importance, and we can reply by giving our consent without a moment's delay". p. 373

[384] Written on Y. A. Preobrazhensky's letter to Lenin suggesting that "a stop be put to the disgusting 'patriotism'", and mentioning a speech of Radek's "about a 'national' war" and a chauvinist article by Bergman in Agitrosta. Preobrazhensky asked to be allowed to give appropriate directives to the editors of newspapers, especially provincial ones. To Preobrazhensky's request, Lenin answered: "I am wholly **in favour**", and he proposed the directive reproduced here. p. 373

[385] This was apparently written in reply to a telegram received from Orjonikidze and Kirov on May 7, 1920, reporting that Georgia

was undertaking a number of aggressive measures against Soviet Azerbaijan and that in the peace terms it was absolutely necessary to put forward a demand for the "proclamation of Soviet power in Georgia" (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 426). p. 374

[386] The Propaganda Trains Department of the All-Russia C.E.C. sent a copy of this letter of Lenin's to the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on June 12, 1920, with a request that the latter urgently appoint its representatives, the most experienced and leading instructors, for the train "Soviet Caucasus" and the steamship *Red Star*. p. 377

[387] Lenin is referring to the decision of the C.P.C. of May 27, 1920, on food resources, directing the Moscow and Petrograd Soviets "to give special attention to the need to increase the amount of market-garden products obtained from the environs of the capitals this year and to submit to the C.P.C. within a fortnight their proposals for possible measures". (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 427.) p. 377

[388] The telegram from the R.M.C. of the Caucasian Front (received by the R.M.C. of the Republic on May 27, 1920) raised the question of releasing captive Cossacks—privates and NCO's of the Kuban White army—from P.O.W. camps and sending them home; the officers, it was proposed, were to be put at the disposal of Front Headquarters. p. 378

[389] On June 11, 1920, G. V. Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, sent a Soviet Government Note to the British Government addressed to the Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon, containing facts about the aid given by the British Government to the whiteguard General Wrangel. The Note stated that Wrangel himself, in an army order issued on May 6, "openly and explicitly mentions the diplomatic intervention of Great Britain on his behalf as a means of keeping his hold on the Crimea and mounting a new attack against Soviet Russia". This Note was published on June 13, 1920, in *Izvestia* No. 127. On this subject, see also Lenin's letter to Chicherin of June 11, 1920 (see this volume, Document 609). p. 378

[390] This refers to the decision of the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) of May 4, 1920, suspending military operations in the Crimea and the Caucasus. See also this volume, Document 583. p. 380

[391] Lenin is referring to the "Statute on the Commission of the Council of People's Commissars (the Narrow Council of People's Commissars)" endorsed by the Council of People's Commissars on June 1, 1920. Lenin's addendum relates to the first four points of the "Statute", which state that "the purpose of the Narrow Council of People's Commissars is to work up questions which have to be dealt with by the Council of People's Commissars and require preliminary treatment. The destination of business reaching the Council of People's Commissars is decided by the Nar-

row Council, except for budgetary business, which must be handled by the Narrow Council, and matters coming before the Narrow Council by decision of the Council of People's Commissars". (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 428.)

The document bears the following names of C.P.C. members in the secretary's handwriting, who, on being questioned, expressed their agreement with Lenin's addendum: Vladimirsky Avanesov, Kursky, Kamenev, Semashko, Milyutin, Pokrovsky, Nikolayev, Sereda, Krestinsky, Sklyansky. p. 380

[392] Written on a telegram to Lenin dated June 1, 1920, from Z. N. Dosser, Chairman of the Chief Oil Committee, and A. P. Serebrovsky, Chairman of the Azerbaijan Oil Committee. The telegram reported the grave food situation among the workers of the Baku oil industry owing to the fact that A. Y. Belenky, Special Food Commissar failed to fulfil obligations in regard to the dispatch of food from the Northern Caucasus to Baku, while at the same time refusing to allow the oil workers to make their own food procurements in the Northern Caucasus. p. 380

[393] The margin of the typewritten copy of this telegram in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism contains a note by Orjonikidze: "The telegram was received by me in the summer of 1920. *Orjonikidze*." What Lenin's inquiry referred to has not been established. p. 381

[394] Written on Stalin's telegram to Lenin dated June 3, 1920, proposing either to sign a truce with Wrangel and enable one or two divisions to be taken from the Crimean Front, or to abandon all talks with Wrangel, strike a blow at him and, by routing him, release forces for the Polish front. p. 381

[395] Written on Stalin's telegram from Kremenchug dated June 4, 1920, and apparently received by Lenin during a sitting of the Council of Labour and Defence. The telegram reported General Wrangel's intention to attack with one group of troops in the Alyoshki-Kherson area, and to land another group in the Odessa area so as to envelop it from two sides.

On receiving Trotsky's note saying that Stalin had violated the established rules by addressing himself directly to Lenin (since such information should have been sent to the Commander-in-Chief by A. I. Yegorov, commander of the forces on the South-Western Front), Lenin sent the second note to Trotsky. p. 383

[396] Lenin's exchange of notes with Alferov took place at a meeting of the Council of Labour and Defence on June 4, 1920, at which Takhtamyshev was present. p. 383

[397] Lenin is referring to the experiments of S. I. Botin, who was working on the problem of induced detonation by electromagnetic waves. In October 1921 a commission of experts recommended that the experiments should be discontinued owing to their insufficient preparation. p. 384

[398] Written on a telegram to Chicherin from Krasin, Chairman of the Russian Trade Delegation in London, who reported that on June 10, 1920, he had had a visit from Wise, who stated officially, on behalf of Lloyd George, that the offensive begun by Wrangel was undertaken against the wishes of the British Government.

The Soviet Government's Note in reply to the British Government, which was worded according to Lenin's directive and sent by radio on June 11, stated: "True, at the present time it is Wrangel with his whiteguards, and not a British general, who is attacking Russia anew, but the weapons and ammunition which he uses were supplied to him by the British Government and other Allied Governments- his strategic movements have taken place under the protection of British and other Allied vessels, he has received the coal he needed from Great Britain, and the Allied fleet partly helped him in his landing operations and partly directly participated in them. The Russian Government, therefore, cannot share the point of view of the British Government that the latter bears no responsibility for this new attack on Soviet Russia." (*Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. II, 1958, p. 567.) p. 386

[399] On June 11, 1920, after hearing the report of a commission on measures for ensuring the maximum deliveries of fuel, especially for Moscow, the Council of Labour and Defence resolved: "To make the Moscow Fuel Board and the People's Commissariat for Railways responsible for transporting within three weeks all the firewood lying at railway stations within a 30-verst radius of Moscow, to the amount of about 8,000 cubic sazhens." (*Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*, p. 321.) p. 387

[400] This note was written in connection with the preparations for the Second Congress of the Communist International. Heller, who was appointed a representative of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) in the Italian delegation, was directed by the Politbureau of the C.C. "to collect passages in the Italian press against Turati and other reformists, and in general to select all the necessary material" for exposing reformism in the ranks of the Italian Socialist Party (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 431).

Avanti!—a daily newspaper, the central organ of the Italian Socialist Party, founded in Rome in December 1896. During the First World War, the newspaper adopted an inconsistent internationalist position, without breaking its ties with the reformists. In 1926 the paper was closed down by Mussolini's fascist government, but continued to be published abroad; in 1943 its publication was resumed in Italy.

Comunismo—a fortnightly journal of the Italian Socialist Party; it was published in Milan from 1919 to 1922, edited by D. M. Serrati.

Il Soviet—a newspaper of the Italian Socialist Party, published in Naples from 1918 to 1922. From 1920 it was the organ

of the Communist-abstentionist faction of the Italian Socialist Party. p. 387

[401] This refers to the Bologna Congress of the Italian Socialist Party, held in October 1919. The Congress decided for affiliation of the Italian Socialist Party to the Communist International. p. 388

[402] The instruction was written on a telegram dated June 18, 1920, from the North Caucasus Branch of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade setting forth the terms of a draft agreement between the Branch and representatives of the American corporation. On the telegram are markings and underlinings made by Lenin. p. 389

[403] The letter to Merezhin, a member of the Central Bureau of Jewish Sections under the C.C., R.C.P.(B.), was written by Lenin in connection with the preparation of draft theses on the national and colonial questions for the Second Congress of the Communist International.

The "information of Rafes" refers apparently to a letter of M. G. Rafes, "Defence of the rights of national minorities in regions with a mixed population (an assessment of the experience of Ukrainian-Jewish and Polish-Jewish relations)", sent by him to Lenin on June 21, 1920. p. 390

[404] On Lenin's letter there is a note by the People's Commissar for Agriculture: "A corresponding directive has already been sent by me to the Gubernia Land Department. *S. Sereda*." p. 391

[405] On June 14, 1920, Lenin imposed a penalty on E. Y. Vever, Manager of the Gorki Sanatorium—a month's arrest—for cutting down a perfectly sound spruce in the sanatorium park. The Podolsk Uyezd Executive Committee was charged with the carrying out of this sentence (see *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 41, p. 151). p. 391

[406] Written on a letter from Chicherin dated June 23, 1920, complaining of the non-fulfilment of decisions of the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on matters concerning the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. Despite repeated decisions of the Party's Central Committee, Chicherin wrote, nothing had been done, either in regard to rations, or to the transfer of a new building to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, or to the provision of motorcars for foreign delegations and other needs of the Commissariat. p. 391

[407] Lenin thought highly of the great Russian physiologist, Academician I. P. Pavlov, the founder of the materialist theory of higher nervous activity in animals and man. Lenin took a solicitous interest in his well-being and gave him every possible assistance and support

In view of Pavlov's outstanding scientific services, which were of tremendous importance for the working people of the

world, the Soviet Government, on the initiative of Lenin, in the hard years of economic dislocation and the immense difficulties resulting from the Civil War and foreign armed intervention, passed a special decree creating facilities that would enable Academician Pavlov and his assistants to effectively carry on their scientific work (see present edition, Vol. 32, p. 69).

In his well-known letter to Soviet youth written shortly before his death, Pavlov touched on the immense opportunities which the Soviet socialist system offered for the development of culture and science. "Our country," he wrote, "is affording great scope to scientists and—it must be owned—science in our country is being fostered with a generous hand. A most lavish hand!

"What is there to say about the status of our young scientist? Here surely everything is quite clear. Much is given to him, but much is expected from him. For the youth, as for us, it is a point of honour to justify the great trust that our country puts in science." (*Pravda* No. 58, February 28, 1936.) p. 392

[408] Written on a telephone message to the Council of People's Commissars from D. A. Trilisser, secretary of the Petrograd Executive Committee, who asked for a postponement in presenting data on the development of suburban farms and on the stocktaking and confiscation of surplus produce from the market gardeners. On Lenin's motion, the Council of People's Commissars on June 29, 1920, censured the Petrograd Soviet for "its impermissible procrastination in this matter". (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 434.) p. 393

[409] This refers to S. I. Botin and his experiments for discovering a method of induced detonation by means of electromagnetic waves (see Note 397). p. 394

[410] The extract mentioned by Lenin stated: "...the Food Department of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies has announced a competition for thermos vessels of large and small dimensions. Three prizes will be awarded: for apparatus of half a *vedro** —10,000 rubles, 5,000 rubles and 3,000 rubles-for blueprints of apparatus of five *vedros*—5,000 rubles and 3,000 rubles. Apparatus and blueprints must be presented by October 20, 1918" (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 434).

In a memorandum presented to Lenin on July 16, 1920, the Board of the Moscow Consumers' Society reported that the competition for thermos vessels ended on October 1, 1918. Simultaneously with the work of the Competition Commission, the Food Department began to use thermos vessels made entirely of wood (plywood and shavings). These vessels were very light—about 32 lbs. for vessels of three *vedros*—and enabled food to be kept hot for 18-20 hours. p. 393

*1 *vedro*=21 pints.—*Ed.*

[411] Lenin is referring to a decision of the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) dated June 29, 1920, for convening a congress of peoples of the East in Baku. The decision stated: "Comrade Orjonikidze and Comrade Stasova, together with comrades co-opted by them, are instructed to form a bureau for convening a congress of peoples of the East in Baku. Comrade Zinoviev is to inform Orjonikidze about this today by direct line." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 435.)

In stating that G. K. Orjonikidze retains "all rights and powers", Lenin is referring to the decisions of the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) of June 29 and 30, 1920, appointing Orjonikidze a member of the Caucasian Council of the Labour Army from the Revolutionary Military Council of the Caucasian Front. p. 395

[412] Lenin is referring to a decision of the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) dated June 18, 1920, regarding the Northern Caucasus, which stated: "The Orgbureau is instructed to come to an agreement with the Caucasian Bureau of the C.C. for selecting from the members of the latter a small, permanently acting collegium... with the area of activities throughout the Caucasus. If Comrade Orjonikidze does not become a member of the small collegium, all questions relating to Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkey etc., must be decided in his presence" (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 435). p. 396

[413] In reply to Lenin's note, Krasin reported on the measures taken for the speediest shipment of goods intended for foreign trade and on their sale and the use of the foreign currency proceeds for the purchase of goods needed by Soviet Russia. p. 396

[414] This refers to the *Second Congress of the Communist International*, which was held from July 19 to August 7, 1920.

All the preparatory work for convening the Congress was directed by Lenin. He wrote the theses on the national and colonial questions, on the agrarian question, on the fundamental tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International, on the terms of admission into the Communist International, and the plan of theses on the international and economic situation (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 144-64, 184-201, 206-11, 212; Vol. 35, pp. 450-51).

At the Congress, Lenin delivered a report on the international situation and the fundamental tasks of the Communist International, made a speech on the role of the Communist Party, delivered the report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions, and spoke on the terms of admission into the Communist International, on parliamentarism, and on affiliation to the British Labour Party (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 215-63). Lenin's theses were endorsed as decisions of the Congress. p. 397

[415] To Lenin's question in the first note as to whom to entrust the translation of this book, Zinoviev replied that the book had al-

ready been translated into German and French in Petrograd and was being edited.

Lenin wrote the new preface to the book on July 6, 1920, and it was first published in October 1921, under the title "Imperialism and Capitalism", in the journal *The Communist International* No. 18 (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 189-94). In Lenin's lifetime, separate editions of his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* were published in German in 1921, and in French and English (incompletely) in 1923.

Lenin's third note was a reply to a passage in Zinoviev's note saying, "There is some difficulty with the quotations (from German and English publications)" (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 437). p. 398

[416] See Note 414. p. 398

[417] In speaking of Wijnkoop's statement, Lenin is referring to the letter from him of June 30, 1920, about the book "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder*, with which the Dutch delegation became acquainted at the Second Congress of the Communist International before translations of the Russian text had been published. Wijnkoop's letter and Lenin's reply to it were first published in the English translation of the book, issued in Moscow in 1920, and in the Russian text of the book in 1930 in the second edition of Lenin's *Collected Works* (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 117-18). p. 400

[418] Written in connection with a letter from the Cinema Department of the People's Commissariat for Education, which reported that the fulfilment of Lenin's directive—for making a motion picture of "The Trial of the Kolchak Ministers"—was being held up owing to the absence of film.

Lenin sent similar letters to Centrosoyuz, the Moscow Extraordinary Commission, the People's Commissariat for Military Affairs and the Vecheka. On July 9 a reply was received from the Vecheka addressed to the secretary of the Council of People's Commissars, Lydia Fotieva, reading: "Dear Comrade Fotieva, please tell Vladimir Ilyich that there is no cinema film in the Vecheka, other than shot films of a counter-revolutionary nature which cannot be used. Apparently, someone who did not know the facts has misled Ilyich" (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, pp. 437-38). p. 400

[419] This refers to the London negotiations between the Russian Trade Delegation, headed by L. B. Krasin, and members of the British Government (see *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1958, pp. 695-705). p. 401

[420] This refers to Kamenev's letter of July 9, 1920, concerning the nature of the Anglo-Russian talks, in which he wrote that political negotiations should be conducted "on the broadest agitational lines" recounting "widely and publicly the whole history of the intervention, including Kolchak, Denikin, Poland, Wrangel,

Lithuania, Estonia, etc., etc., and touching on and raising all the questions of Eastern policy from Turkey to China". In his postscript to this letter Chicherin supported Kamenev, who in turn again put forward the proposal—"without breaking off the negotiations, and in a mild tone, to present to Lloyd George the history of British plundering on a world scale". When Lenin read the letter, he wrote on it: "I disagree in principle. 10/VII. *Lenin*." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 438.)

Lenin's letter was a reply to these proposals. p. 401

[421] N. N. Krestinsky, Secretary of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.), informed Lenin on July 11, 1920, that Chicherin was insisting that Kamenev and not Krasin should head the Soviet delegation that was being sent to Great Britain. Lenin wrote on Krestinsky's letter: "I agree to Kamenev as chairman, Krasin—deputy chairman." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 438). p. 401

[422] This refers to a letter from Stalin dated July 11, 1920, informing Lenin of the promise of the Commander-in-Chief, S. S. Kamenev, to strengthen the Crimean direction with a number of military units and formations and combat materiel.

On July 15 E. M. Sklyansky sent Lenin a memorandum on the amount of assistance to the South-Western Front. p. 402

[423] This refers to a Note from Lord Curzon, British Foreign Secretary, sent to the Soviet Government on July 11, 1920, from Spa (Belgium), where a conference of the Entente countries was being held together with representatives of Germany. To the decisions adopted at the Spa conference, Lord Curzon added a proposal that the Soviet Government should conclude an armistice with General Wrangel. p. 403

[424] This refers to the reply to Lord Curzon's Note of July 11, 1920, which was discussed at a plenary meeting of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on July 16, 1920. The reply was published in *Izvestia* No. 157, July 18, 1920. p. 403

[425] This note was written on the draft of a decree for centralising libraries in the Republic, adopted by the Narrow Council of People's Commissars on June 22, 1920. To eliminate duplication of work and ensure effective use and proper distribution of all existing book-collections, the draft stipulated that "the libraries of all public organisations and institutions are to be merged in the general library network of the Educational Departments". All libraries newly opened by public organisations were to be included "in the general network of public libraries".

The draft decree also bears a note from Krupskaya to the People's Commissariat for Education: "If you will send me my article on the centralisation of libraries and return this draft, I will try to make a new draft and write an instruction. But perhaps it has already been done? In that case, send it as well." p. 404

[426] This telegram was written in reply to the following telegram from Stalin, sent on August 2, 1920, from Lozovaya: "Fierce

fighting is continuing with growing intensity; today we shall probably lose Alexandrovsk. I received your note concerning the separation of the fronts. The Politbureau ought not to concern itself with trifles. I can go on working at the front for two weeks at the most, I need a rest, find someone to replace me. I do not believe the promises of the Commander-in-Chief for a single minute, by his promises he only lets us down. As regards the sentiments of the Central Committee in favour of peace with Poland, one cannot help remarking that our diplomacy sometimes very successfully torpedoes the results of our military successes" (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 441). p. 408

[427] This refers to Poland's Eastern frontier, which was arbitrarily fixed by the Supreme Council of the Entente at the end of the 1914-18 imperialist war, on December 8, 1919. This frontier was to run along the line: Grodno—Yalovka—Nemirov—Brest-Litovsk—Dorogusk—Ustilug—Krylov, and was to cut across Galicia between Przemysl and Rava-Russkaya up to the Carpathian Mountains. This line was mentioned also in Lord Curzon's Note of July 11, 1920, and became known as the "Curzon Line".

The Soviet Government, in proposing peace to Poland, was ready to accept as the Polish-Soviet frontier a line east of the "Curzon Line".

The present note is Lenin's directive to the chairman of the Soviet delegation sent to London for negotiations with the British Government. p. 409

[428] In a telegram of August 13, 1920, in reply to Lenin, the Deputy Chairman of the Council of the Caucasian Labour Army, A. G. Beloborodov, wrote: "Your telegram No. 402 received only 13th at 20.00 hours. The Northern Caucasus, with the exception of the Kuban, for the time being gives no cause for anxiety as regards the outbreak of insurrections...." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 444.) p. 412

[429] Lenin wrote this note on August 11, 1920, during his reception of Lao Hsiu-chao, a member of the Chinese Socialist Party and Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Chinese Workers in Russia. On the back of the note is Krestinsky's reply: "Tomorrow at 3.30." p. 413

[430] This note was written on a letter dated August 11, 1920, addressed to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, V. I. Lenin, from I. Brikhnichev, head of the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for Abolishing Illiteracy. It asked for cadres to strengthen the commission, premises for the work, means of transport, and food rations. Point "b" of the letter read: "People are needed, some 10-15 skilled and unskilled staff workers. Can be summoned from the localities or mobilised in Moscow." p. 413

[431] This refers to a collection of the decrees in force in 1919. In a letter in reply, Kursky reported that this collection was published under the editorship of Kozlovsky and was a reprint of *Sobraniye*

uzakonenii za 1919 god (Collected Legislation of 1919), and that another collection of the most important decrees of the R.S.F.S.R. during the three years, 1917-20, was being prepared for the press. On the envelope of Kursky's letter, Lenin wrote: "For the archives (VIII. 1920). Re publication of laws " (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 444). p. 414

[432] Written in connection with a letter from A. N. Voznesensky, formerly head of the Eastern Department of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, who considered that he had been wrongfully dismissed. The matter was discussed on August 19, 1920, at the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.), which directed Chicherin to use Voznesensky in one of the subcommissions of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs as a specialist on the eastern question having a knowledge of Eastern languages and English. p. 414

[433] This refers to the conference for ending the war and establishing peaceful friendly relations between the R.S.F.S.R. and the Ukraine, on the one hand, and Poland, on the other. Despite all the attempts of the imperialists to prevent it, the peace conference began its work on August 17, 1920, in Minsk, where it continued until September 3. On September 21, the conference resumed its work in Riga. The peace negotiations ended with the signing in Riga on October 12, 1920, of "A Treaty on an Armistice and Preliminary Conditions of Peace" between Soviet Russia and the Soviet Ukraine, on the one hand, and Poland, on the other (see *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1959, pp. 245-58). p. 415

[434] See Note 427. p. 415

[435] This refers to a decision of the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) dated August 19, 1920, following the reports by Stalin and Trotsky on the military situation on the Polish and Wrangel fronts. In the decision it was recorded: "a) To recognise the Wrangel front as the main front.... b) To convene the Orgbureau tomorrow to decide the question of a further mobilisation of Communists. c) To adopt extra measures to speed up general mobilisation of Byelorussians. d) To transfer the 6th Division of the 1st Mounted Army to the Wrangel front.... e) To send 55 per cent of the mobilised Communists to the Wrangel front, and the remainder to the Western Front." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 446.) p. 418

[436] The summer of 1920 saw the beginning of the liberation of the Western Ukraine by the Red Army. The rule of the bourgeoisie and landowners was abolished in 16 uyezds of Eastern Galicia and Soviet power was established there. A provisional regional Soviet authority in Eastern Galicia—the Galician Revolutionary Committee headed by V. P. Zatonsky—was set up in Ternopol. In the uyezds, local revolutionary committees were formed, which strove to enforce the decrees of the people's government. Lenin warmly welcomed the establishment of Soviet power

in Eastern Galicia and helped the Galician Communists in their Party and Soviet activities. p. 419

[437] *Proletcult*—a cultural and educational organisation which arose in September 1917 as an independent workers' organisation. Its leadership was in the hands of A. A. Bogdanov and his supporters. After the October Revolution, Proletcult continued to uphold its "independence", thus setting itself in opposition to the Soviet state. In consequence, Proletcult was infiltrated by bourgeois intellectuals who began to exert a decisive influence on it. Its members actually denied the importance of the cultural heritage, wanted to shut themselves off from the tasks of cultural and educational work among the masses, and tried to create a special "proletarian culture" by "laboratory methods", in isolation from life. In a draft resolution "On Proletarian Culture" (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 316-17) and in a number of other works, Lenin trenchantly criticised the erroneous principles of Proletcult. In the early 1920s its organisations began to decline and in 1932 it ceased to exist. p. 419

[438] This refers to the landing in the Kuban area in the middle of August 1920 of a whiteguard force, organised by Wrangel with the consent and support of the Entente. The aim of the raid was to cut off from the Soviet Republic one of the most fertile grain areas of the country. As a result of stubborn, fierce battles, the Red Army routed the whiteguard units and in the beginning of September the remnants of the landing force were thrown back into the Crimea. p. 420

[439] Written below the text of the copy of a telegram sent to Lenin from Vilno on August 19, 1920, by V. S. Mickiewicz-Kapsukas, a member of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian-Byelorussian Communist Party. He reported that revolutionary feeling in Lithuania was rising and "by the day of our departure from Vilno, it may end in a mass armed uprising against the Lithuanian whiteguards", and asked: "Do you find it possible for us to prepare for a decisive battle?"

On the same copy Lenin wrote to Trotsky: "Comrade Trotsky, if you agree, send it off or return it to me for coding. *Lenin*." On the document there is also a note by Lenin: "*Stalin* agrees", and Trotsky's mark indicating his agreement. p. 421

[440] In a telegram to People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Chicherin on July 30, 1920, M. M. Litvinov, plenipotentiary abroad of the R.S.F.S.R. Council of People's Commissars, reported the arrival in Copenhagen of the American industrialist Vanderlip, who wanted to obtain a concession to exploit oil, coal, and the fisheries of Primorye Region and Kamchatka.

In the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U., there is a note written by Lenin on Chicherin's letter dated August 21, 1920, in which Lenin agrees to Vanderlip visiting Moscow.

Vanderlip arrived in Moscow on September 17, 1920, to negotiate an agreement for the concessions. On the same day Chicherin wrote to Lenin suggesting that negotiations with Vanderlip be started at once and setting out his views on the subject. Lenin wrote on this letter: "Comrade Chicherin, I am wholly *in favour of* negotiations. Hasten them. Think over what more should be done for directives to Krasnoshchokov." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 448.)

An inter-departmental commission of representatives of the Supreme Economic Council, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, was set up to conduct the negotiations. In agreeing to offer a concession to Vanderlip's syndicate, the Soviet Government aimed not only at establishing mutually profitable co-operation with American business circles, but also at normalising relations between Soviet Russia and the U.S.A. In a letter to the Vanderlip syndicate on November 1, 1920, Chicherin pointed out: "Independently of the signing of a concession agreement, the Government of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic assumes that the agreement will come into force only on the resumption of normal de facto relations between the Government of Russia and the Government of the U.S.A., and on condition that such relations will be established before July 1, 1921." However, this condition was not fulfilled, hence the concession agreement with Vanderlip was not finalised and did not come into effect. p. 423

[441] This refers to the circular letter of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) drafted by Y. A. Preobrazhensky on the basis of his report dealing with signs of demoralisation in the Party. Commenting on this draft, Krestinsky wrote: "I consider that the reservation contained at the end of point V, which speaks of eliminating inequality in living conditions, 'in so far as they are not due to the requirements of the work', should be elaborated as a separate point or, perhaps, even as a separate section of the circular.

"The point is that the living conditions of gubernia Party and Soviet officials are very hard, especially now that we are carrying out transfers on a mass scale and tearing most comrades away from the places where they had all kinds of family connections and links with the countryside.

"The comrades are suffering hunger, and since, in addition, they are overworked, they very soon become exhausted and put out of action for a long time or permanently. It is essential to get the mass of Party members to recognise the need of establishing somewhat better, less famished conditions of life for the small number of active revolutionary cadres.

"If the above idea is sufficiently emphasised and elaborated in the circular, the last two lines of the draft, which very cautiously and not very intelligibly condemn demagogy on the grounds of inequality, will become superfluous.

"In the discussion in the commission, Comrade Preobrazhen-

sky did not deny the need to include in the circular the idea of a certain inevitable temporary inequality, but he somehow failed to make his point." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 449.)

The Orgbureau's text of the letter from the C.C., R.C.P.(B.), "To All Party Organisations, to All Party Members", signed by Krestinsky, was sent to Lenin for approval. On this letter Lenin wrote that he agreed with the text and proposed the insertion in the letter of "a quotation from the Party programme to the effect that for the present there cannot be equality". This refers to clause 8 of the economic section of the programme. See *KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh syezdov, conferentsii i plenumov TsK* (C.P.S.U. in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Meetings of Its Central Committee), Part I, 1954, p. 423.

The circular letter of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) was published on September 4, 1920, in *Izvestia* of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) No. 21. p. 423

[442] On August 27, 1920, Orjonikidze received Lenin's letter, to which were appended extracts from a letter by A. S. Serafimovich, who in the summer of 1920 was in the Caucasus. Being misinformed about the political work of Party and administrative functionaries in the Caucasus, Serafimovich in his letter adduced a number of alleged facts casting a slur on the revolutionary activity of Orjonikidze, a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Caucasian Front. In returning these extracts to Lenin, Orjonikidze refuted all the accusations against him as being false and groundless.

On receiving this reply, Lenin wrote: "I think Sergo (=Orjonikidze) is incapable of lying." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 450.) p. 423

[443] Written in reply to a letter to Lenin dated August 27, 1920, from N. N. Krestinsky, Secretary of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.), concerning an article by A. Kolegayev, "The Scalp Hunters", published in the newspaper *Gudok* No. 77. The author of the article attacked the Food Commissariat for requisitioning the grain brought to Moscow by one of the departments of the People's Commissariat for Railways. Krestinsky proposed that the author of the article and the editors of *Gudok* should be censured for such impermissible publications. On September 1, 1920, the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) reprimanded Kolegayev and the editors of *Gudok* and warned the editors "on no account to allow publication of articles of a departmental-polemical nature aimed against the Supreme Economic Council, the People's Commissariat for Food or other Commissariats" (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 450). p. 424

[444] A. G. Beloborodov, Deputy Chairman of the Council of the Caucasian Labour Army, reported in his telegram that the counter-

revolutionary whiteguard landing force in the Kuban area would be liquidated in the immediate future (see Note 438). p. 425

[445] Written on a copy of a telegram from V. M. Sverdlov, Deputy People's Commissar for Railways, sent on August 27, 1920, from Saratov, requesting that textiles, footwear and household articles be issued for 345 families of railwaymen, who had been the victims of a fire. Owing to the absence of clothing, wrote Sverdlov, they could not go to work, and this threatened an interruption in railway traffic. p. 425

[446] See Note 442. p. 426

[447] This refers to the publication by Goznak (the Administration of Factories for the Issue of Banknotes) of a pamphlet *On the Construction of a Special State Paper Mill*, Moscow, 1920. The pamphlet was printed on high-grade paper and its 36 pages had 11 insets on art paper. p. 426

[448] According to the reminiscences of Lenin's chauffeur, S. K. Gil, the peasants handed their petition to Lenin on September 5, 1920, during a halt in the village of Bogdanovo when he was out hunting. The peasants complained that the local village Soviet had requisitioned from the poor peasants all their grain and seed corn, grossly distorting the policy of the Party and the government.

Lenin followed up this petition the very next day; an investigation was made and the guilty persons were severely punished. p. 427

[449] The note to Fotieva was written on a letter to Lenin from A. A. Dammi, a naval mechanical engineer, who reported a new method of gold extraction. p. 428

[450] This refers to a code message which Lenin received on September 8, 1920, from S. I. Gusev, a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the South-Western Front, reporting proposals by "pseudonym", a deserter, the former Lieutenant Yakovlev, who had made his way through the 13th Army to Headquarters of the South-Western Front. The gist of Yakovlev's proposals was this: "A secret organisation of officers has been formed in Wrangel's army aimed at blowing up Wrangel from within and handing over his whole army to the Soviet government. In the organisation there are some thirty General Staff officers. The organisation intends to overthrow Wrangel and proclaim his army the Red Crimean Army under the command of Brusilov. The Russian Government is asked to give real guarantees of a full amnesty for the whole army without exception, and issue a corresponding proclamation by the Commander-in-Chief. As proof of the seriousness of the proposal, Yakovlev is prepared to give away the leaders of Wrangel's organisation operating in Soviet Russia with the aim... of preparing an armed uprising. Temporarily, until the arrival of Brusilov, the command of the Red Crimean Army will be entrusted to General Staff officer Sokolovsky, leader of the conspi-

racy against Wrangel" (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 452). p. 428

[451] M. V. Frunze was appointed commander of the forces of the Southern Front by decision of a plenary meeting of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) held on September 20-21, 1920. p. 428

[452] Regarding Yakovlev's proposals, see Note 450.

The "Appeal to Officers of the Army of Baron Wrangel" signed by Kalinin, Chairman of the All-Russia C.E.C., Lenin Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars; Trotsky, People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs; S. S. Kamenev, Commander-in-Chief of all the Armed Forces of the Republic; and Brusilov, Chairman of the Special Council of the Commander-in-Chief, was published on September 12, 1920, in *Pravda* No. 202. The Appeal called on the officers of Wrangel's army to renounce the shameful role of serving the Polish landowners and French usurers, and to lay down their arms aimed against their own people. Those who sincerely and voluntarily came over to the side of Soviet power were guaranteed a full amnesty. p. 429

[453] On September 28, 1920, Lenin signed a decree of the Council of People's Commissars drawn up by Lezhava (People's Commissar for Foreign Trade) and D. I. Kursky (People's Commissar for Justice) on procurement of raw materials for export. p. 430

[454] The decision of the Council of Labour and Defence and the order of the Field Headquarters of the Republic instructed the Revolutionary Military Council of the Caucasian Front to mobilise urgently horses and carts in the Northern Caucasus and Kuban area for ensuring transport of coal to the loading points in the Donets Basin. p. 431

[455] The instruction to Avanesov was written in connection with a memo from Lyubovich on the need to make use of the wireless receivers lying at the factories of the "Radio" Section in Petrograd. p. 432

[456] This note to Lezhava was written on a letter dated September 15, 1920, from Y. M. Dvorkin, Deputy Extraordinary Plenipotentiary of the Far Eastern Republic, who informed Lenin of Italian and French offers to sell motor lorries and motorcars of various makes to a total value of about 105,000 dollars. p. 433

[457] Lenin's note to Chicherin was written on a report from Commander-in-Chief S. S. Kamenev concerning the strategic importance of the new frontier between Soviet Russia and Poland, about which negotiations were then being conducted between representatives of the two countries at the peace conference in Riga.

See also notes 421 and 433. p. 434

[458] Written on a memorandum from Chicherin, who gave factual data on the violation by editors of Petrograd newspapers of the regula-

tions with regard to the publication of materials about the international situation and foreign policy. p. 435

[459] The reference is to the *Thirteenth Congress of the Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Workers' Party*, held in Prague from September 25 to 28, 1920. The Congress was preceded by a struggle between the revolutionary wing in the party—the Marxist Left wing—and the Right-wing reformist leadership. The Congress was attended by 321 persons, all supporters of the Left wing. At that time the party had more than 4,800 functioning organisations and almost 500,000 members. The Left wing at the Congress took over the leadership of the party and formed an independent party entitled the Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Left). It included most of the members of the former Social-Democratic Party. The Congress condemned the splitting policy of the Right wing, expressed agreement with the conditions for affiliation to the Communist International, and instructed the new Executive Committee to conduct negotiations for joining the Communist International. The reformist leaders took the course of splitting the party and in November 1920 held their own Congress. p. 435

[460] On September 17, 1920, Lenin had a talk with S. I. Poroskun, a member of the Moscow Bureau of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee, who had returned from Siberia, and made notes of the measures proposed by Poroskun for helping the Siberian peasantry (see *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*, p. 151). The results of this conversation and the measures proposed by Poroskun are reflected in this letter of Lenin's to the Siberian Revolutionary Committee. p. 436

[461] The note to Krzhizhanovsky was written on p. 21 of the *Bulletin* of the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia, No. 5, 1920.

Krzhizhanovsky returned the *Bulletin* to Lenin the same day with a note that the last numbers of the *Bulletin* were to be issued in the very near future "in each of which a plan will be given for small-scale (immediate) and large-scale electrification of the main areas". Simultaneously with drawing up the electrification programme, work had also been started on its implementation. In particular, Krzhizhanovsky reported that in the Central Industrial Region fairly good progress was being made in the repair and socialisation of power stations (especially near Moscow). It was necessary now, he wrote, "to link the operation of these stations with the electrification of local agriculture on a wide scale. In this regard, too, I can inform you of something of *immediate practical* interest".

Markings by Lenin occur also on p. 45 of the *Bulletin*, where he side-lined, underscored and marked "N.B." the sentence "the consumption of fuel by the railways will be 2½-3 times as much with steam traction as it would be with electric traction". (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 455.) p. 437

[462] On October 1, 1920, the Council of Labour and Defence discussed Lenin's report concerning the supply of coal and food to factories of Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia, belonging to the key group of textile enterprises, and decided: "a) to endorse the agreement of September 28 of this year between the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia Food Committee and the People's Commissariat for Food; b) to take note of the statement of the People's Commissariat for Food that 40 railway wagons of food have been sent from Nizhni-Novgorod" (*Lenin Miscellany XXXV*, p. 155). p. 438

[463] The Red Army withdrew from Pinsk on September 28, 1920. p. 439

[464] Written in reply to a note from Bukharin concerning V. I. Nevsky's article "Dialectical Materialism and the Philosophy of Dead Reaction" (see present edition, Vol. 14, p. 21). In his note, Bukharin pointed out that whereas previously Bogdanov had recognised philosophy, he now abolished it and replaced it by "tektology" or "universally organised science" (as Bogdanov called his book published in 1913). "This formulation of the problem is on a *different* plane from that of empirio-monism," wrote Bukharin. "It can be disputed but it is necessary at least to understand it. Nevsky, however, does not have this minimum requirement." p. 439

[465] On the document is written in an unknown handwriting: "Note: Comrade Sklyansky's information has not been found." p. 440

[466] This note was written on a copy of a telegram dated October 2, 1920, from E. M. Sklyansky, Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, and M. F. Vladimirsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, sent to the Revolutionary Military Council of the Western Front in Minsk, stating that "Smolensk University can be occupied only after the premises offered by the Executive Committee have been utilised".

On this subject see also the present volume, Document 741. p. 441

[467] Written by Lenin in connection with a report from the Terek Regional Food Committee forwarded to him by Bryukhanov, Deputy People's Commissar for Food. The report dealt with the difficult conditions of work in the region as a result of Wrangel's landing in the Kuban area, with the unsatisfactory progress of food procurements, and with the feeling among the population. p. 442

[468] Written in connection with Chicherin's letter to Lenin of October 5, 1920, reporting Rykov's talks with W. B. Vanderlip concerning concessions in the Far East. Rykov was insisting on shortening the term of the concessions and the right to buy them back before their expiry, but Vanderlip would not agree to this.

See also Note 440. p. 442

[469] By a decision of the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on October 11, 1920, N. I. Bukharin was directed to speak at a meeting

of the Communist group at the First All-Russia Congress of Proletcult, which was held in Moscow from October 5 to 12, 1920. The document published here was Lenin's reply to a note from Bukharin, who announced his refusal to speak at the Congress on the grounds that disagreements between him and Lenin were possible on certain questions of proletarian culture, for example, on point 4 of Lenin's draft resolution "On Proletarian Culture" (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 316-17). The Communist group at the First Congress of Proletcult was proposed to adopt an organisational resolution subordinating the central and local Proletcult organisations to the People's Commissariat for Education. This resolution was drawn up on the lines of Lenin's express directives and was unanimously adopted by the Proletcult Congress. p. 445

[470] In an article "On the Struggle Within the Italian Socialist Party", written on November 4, 1920, Lenin quotes from a speech by Treves at a congress of the Italian reformists, which opened on October 11, 1920, in Reggio Emilia (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 382-83). p. 445

[471] In an effort to pit Turkey against Soviet Russia and to wreck negotiations for establishing friendly relations, the Entente leaders instigated Dashnak Armenia to attack Turkey. Dreaming of creating a "Great Armenia" which would include almost half of Asia Minor, the Dashnak government began military operations against Turkey on September 24, 1920. In this war the Dashnak army suffered defeat after defeat, while the advancing Turkish troops laid waste to the land, chased out the civilian population and organised massacres of Armenians. The war brought Armenia to the brink of complete ruin and total extermination of the population. At the beginning of October 1920, the C.C., C.P.(B.) of Armenia issued a call to the workers and peasants to overthrow the hated Dashnak yoke and establish Soviet power.

In connection with Orjonikidze's report of the probable resignation of the Dashnak government of Armenia and of the possibility of power passing to the Communists, Chicherin proposed: 1) to agree with the opinion of the C.C., C.P.(B.) of Armenia and the Caucasian Bureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on the necessity of decisive action for establishing Soviet power in Armenia, 2) to afford Armenia political help in halting the further advance of the Turks, and 3) to support the new, Soviet government.

On October 14, 1920, the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) adopted Chicherin's proposals.

Soviet power in Armenia was established on November 29, 1920, as the result of an armed uprising of the working people. For Lenin's message of greetings to the Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Committee of Armenia, see present edition, Vol. 31, p. 437. p. 446

[472] This note was written because D. Z. Manuilsky objected to a decision of the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) that he be

sent to Italy. On October 14, 1920, the Politbureau reaffirmed its previous decision and pointed out to Manuilsky that it was due to his ill-health. p. 446

[473] Written on a report from Commander-in-Chief S. S. Kamenev to the Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. He proposed that the armistice with Poland should be utilised for the speediest rout of Wrangel's whiteguard forces. At the end of point 2 of Kamenev's practical proposals—on using part of the forces and resources of the Western Front for military operations in the south of the country "without touching those of the South-Western Front"—Lenin made an insertion mark "$\overset{x}{V}$" with a footnote: "Add $\overset{x}{V}$ until the armistice becomes an actual fact."

Under Lenin's proposal for approving the report of the Commander-in-Chief is a note by Krestinsky: "Agreed. *N. K.*" and the signatures of Stalin and Bukharin. p. 447

[474] Written by Lenin on the minutes of an inter-departmental conference held on October 14, 1920. This conference considered it necessary to transform the Supreme Economic Council into a People's Commissariat for Industry and to set up an extra-departmental body under the Council of Labour and Defence for co-ordinating economic plans for production, transport, supplies, fuel, foreign trade, labour and currency distribution.

Enclosed with Lenin's note was the text of the decision of the Ninth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) "On Organisational Links Between the Economic Commissariats". This decision states: "The Congress instructs the Central Committee in the immediate future to work out a system of organisational links between the Supreme Economic Council and other Commissariats (the People's Commissariats for Food, Railways, Agriculture) that are directly linked with the economy in their daily work, with the aim of ensuring complete unity in carrying out the economic plan endorsed by the Party Congress." On the document are the following notes and signatures of those members of the Central Committee who read Lenin's note: "Read. *N. Krestinsky*", "Read and agree with Lenin. *L. Serebryakov*", "Agree with Comrade Lenin's proposal. *F. Dzerzhinsky*", "Read, agree with Vladimir Ilyich. *A. Andreyev*". In the hand of the secretary is written: "Comrade Tomsky has read it. Has telephoned that he fully agrees with Comrade Lenin." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 459.) p. 448

[475] The note to Sklyansky was written on a telegram from A. G. Schlichter, Chairman of the Tambov Gubernia Executive Committee and Chairman of the Gubernia Military Council, who requested that reinforcements be sent to the units of the Red Army operating against bandit groups in Tambov Gubernia.

On October 19, Lenin wrote a note to V. S. Kornev, Commander of the Forces of Internal Security, on the need for the speediest

liquidation of the counter-revolutionary outbreak in Tambov Gubernia, and he asked to be informed what measures were being taken (see present volume, Document 727). On October 23 a report was received from Kornev on the measures taken to put down the revolt in Tambov Gubernia. p. 448

[476] This refers to the comments on a memorandum received by the Council of People's Commissars from V. D. Batyushkov, head of the State Agricultural Museum, member of the Council and Chairman of the Board of the All-Russia Chamber of Agriculture and G. Frolov, member of the Chamber, "On the Use of Mechanical Power (Tractors) in Performing Agricultural Work (Ploughing and Harvesting)".

See also Lenin's additions to the draft decree on an integrated tractor service (*Lenin Miscellany XXXV*, p. 164). p. 450

[477] On October 26, 1920, the Council of People's Commissars discussed a draft decision on the sale abroad of antiques and endorsed the following decision: "1) To direct the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade to arrange for the collection of antiques selected by the Petrograd Commission of Experts and to fix a bonus for their most rapid and profitable sale abroad. 2) The question of the quantity and standard of rations for the Commission of Experts to be referred to the Workers' Food Supply Commission for decision. If agreement with Comrade Lezhava is not reached, the matter to be submitted to the Council of People's Commissars. 3) To instruct the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade to examine urgently the question of setting up a similar commission in Moscow and, if this is found advisable, to organise it." (*Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 51, p. 462.)

The Commission of Experts recommended sending the well-known antique expert, M. M. Savostin, and the artist I. N. Rakitsky, a member of the Commission, to European markets for antiques—in Paris, London, Florence and Rome—for establishing connections with the leading antique dealers in the West, ascertaining precise prices of antiques, and arranging auctions. p. 452

[478] Lenin wrote this note to the Narrow Council of People's Commissars on a letter from Maxim Gorky. In view of the fact that the Petrograd Commune was proposing to requisition the products which had been supplied by permission of the People's Commissariat for Food to the Petrograd Commission for Improving Scientists' Living Conditions, Maxim Gorky, Chairman of the Commission, asked the Council of People's Commissars to pass a decision stating: "Products supplied by gubernia food committees, with the permission of the People's Commissariat for Food, to the Petrograd Commission for Improving Scientists' Living Conditions are not to be requisitioned by the Petrograd Commune nor to be counted by the latter as part of the ration quota endorsed by the Council of People's Commissars for Petrograd scientists." p. 453

[479] Written on a letter from Gorky saying that the State Publishing House had ordered. 1) Two books from Remezov in Switzerland: Fabre, *The Life of Insects*, Klein, *Wonders of the World*. Twenty thousand copies of each. 2) Biographies of musicians and artists, and cut-out alphabets from Brodsky in Stockholm. Total value of the contract: 1,200 000 gold rubles. p. 453

[480] Written in connection with a secret agreement between the bourgeois Latvian Government and agents of Wrangel for a joint attack against Soviet Russia. On September 26, 1920, when Count von Palen, a well-known agent of Wrangel's, was crossing the German frontier, letters were taken from him addressed to Savinkov, Wrangel's agent in Warsaw. These letters reported that a secret meeting had taken place in Riga between a representative of Savinkov and representatives of the Latvian Government and Supreme Command of the Latvian army, at which agreement was reached on joint action with Wrangel aimed at overthrowing the Soviet Government and re-establishing a single indivisible Russia, in return for which Wrangel promised independence for Poland and Latvia. The confiscated letters also reported that soldiers for Wrangel's army were being recruited in Latvia, that a recruiting office receiving financial support from Savinkov was operating almost openly in Riga and transporting soldiers on Latvian steamships. p. 454

[481] The People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade replied to Lenin that on October 28 and 29 a meeting had been held at the Chief Gold Board with representatives of the Urals and Siberia, at which practical measures were discussed for developing the gold and platinum industry. p. 454

[482] On October 27, 1920, Lenin received a delegation from a Party Conference of Alexandrov Uyezd (Vladimir Gubernia), consisting of Comrades Ratnikov, Rybakov, Romanov and Glazunov, who informed him of abuses at the Troitsk Equipment Works and of the difficulty Party members had bringing the matter to the attention of the centre and obtaining its speedy investigation. The letter to the Vladimir Gubernia Party Committee was the result of Lenin's conversation with this delegation. p. 455

[483] On October 30, 1920, following a report by Lenin and Milyutin, the Council of People's Commissars adopted a decision "On the Hydraulic Method of Peat Extraction". Hydraulic peat work, wherever carried out, was acknowledged to be especially urgent and of extremely great state importance. The Board of the Supreme Economic Council was instructed to organise under the Chief Peat Committee a Department for Hydraulic Peat Extraction (Gidrotorf), with R. E. Klasson as responsible director. Concrete measures were endorsed for developing work on hydraulic peat extraction. p. 458

[484] The document is the reply to a telegram from Frunze sent to Lenin on October 26, 1920, from Apostolovo station, in which Frunze reported: "I have just given the final order for a general offensive.

The decisive days will be October 30 and 31 and November 1. I have no doubt about the rout of the enemy's main forces. They will not succeed in withdrawing beyond the isthmuses by the time we strike. I consider that the chance of an immediate capture of the isthmuses is not more than one in a hundred." (*M. V. Frunze na frontakh grazhdanskoi voiny. Sbornik dokumentov*, Moscow, 1941, p. 415.) p. 459

[485] This document was written in reply to the following inquiry from P. I. Popov, head of the Central Statistical Board: "The 1920 data on Soviet office workers in Moscow could be processed in four weeks' time. Please let me know what questions you wish to obtain answers to."

In the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U. there is a note of Lenin's—an instruction to the secretary—reading: "Make a note of the content of this paper and the date (30/X), and give the original to Popov." On this note there is a remark by the secretary: "Simply make a copy. Give the copy to Lenin for the book."

The note on the typewritten copy reads: "Original given to Popov 30/X." p. 459

NAME INDEX

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Abramovich, Alexander Yemelyanovich (b. 1888)—joined the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (R.S.D.L.P.) in 1908. After the October Revolution worked in the Comintern.—326

Adoratsky, Vladimir Viktorovich (1878-1945)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. In 1918 worked in the Commissariat for Education, afterwards in the University of Kazan. Author of a number of works on Marxist theory of the state and law, philosophy and the history of Marxism.—366

Alexander II (*Romanov*) (1818-1881)—Russian tsar, reigned 1855-81.—390

Alexeyev, Mikhail Vasilievich (1857-1918)—general in the tsarist army. During the Civil War commanded the white-guard Volunteer Army organised in the Northern Caucasus.—65

Alferov, Konstantin Alexeyevich (b. 1883)—road-building engineer, joined the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (R.C.P.(B.)) in 1918. From the autumn of 1918 held the post of Assistant Commissar of the Board of Highroads, subsequently worked in the Chief Committee of Public Buildings and Works (1919-21)—348, 383

Alliluyeva, Nadezhda Sergeyevna (1901-1932)—joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1918. From 1919 worked in the Secretariat of the Council of People's Commissars. During the Civil War she was at the Tsaritsyn Front. Afterwards worked on the staff of the magazine *Revolutsia i Kultura*.—395

Altfater, Vasily Mikhailovich (1883-1919)—rear-admiral. After the October Revolution sided with the Soviets. During the Brest peace negotiations acted as naval expert to the Soviet delegation. In February 1918 appointed Assistant Chief of Main Naval Headquarters; in April became a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Naval Affairs, in October a member of the Revolutionary Military Council and Commander of the Naval Forces of the Republic.—144

Andreyeva, Maria Fyodorovna (1868-1953)—well-known Russian actress, public figure, the wife of Maxim Gorky. Joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. Took part in the revolution of 1905. After the October Revolution took an active part in the country's public life.—69

Andronnikov, V. N. (1885-1942)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in

1905. During the October Revolution Chairman of the Ekaterinburg District Soviet and committee member of the Urals Regional Soviet. At the beginning of 1918 he was Chairman of the Urals Regional Soviet and the Council of Commissars of the Urals. From March 1918 to February 1919 Commissar of Production. Subsequently held Party, government and business posts.—83

Antonov—see *Antonov-Ovseyenko, V. A.*

Antonov-Ovseyenko, Vladimir Alexandrovich (1883-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. At the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets was elected to the Council of People's Commissars in the capacity of member of the Committee for Military and Naval Affairs. From the end of 1917 to the beginning of 1918 commanded the Soviet troops fighting Kaledin and the Central Rada. From March to May 1918 commanded the Soviet troops in the south of Russia. From January to June 1919 Commander of the Ukrainian Front. From 1922 to 1924 Chief of the Republic's Political Department. Subsequently held various administrative, military and diplomatic posts.—49, 52, 56, 57, 59, 62, 66, 70 213, 215, 223

Aralov, Semyon Ivanovich (b.1880)—joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1918. From 1918 to 1920 Chief of the Operations Department, first of the Moscow Military District, then of the People's Commissariat for Military and Naval Affairs; a member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the Republic, of the 12th and 14th armies and the South-Western Front.—139 215, 231

Armand, Inessa Fyodorovna (1874-1920)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. Professional revolutionary, active participant in the international women's labour and communist movement. Carried on Party work in Moscow, Petersburg and abroad. After the October Revolution a member of the Moscow Gubernia Committee of the Party and the Moscow Gubernia Executive Committee, and Chairman of the Moscow Gubernia Economic Council. In 1918 became head of the Women's Department of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.).—417, 420

Artyom (*Sergeyev, Fyodor Andreyevich*) (1883-1921)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. In 1911 emigrated to Australia. Took part in the Australian labour movement. After the February 1917 revolution returned to Russia. After the October Revolution Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Donets-Krivoi Rog Soviet Republic, member of the C.C., C.P.(B.) of the Ukraine. At the Seventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) was elected to the Central Committee. In 1919 was a member of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine. From 1920 to 1921 Secretary of the Moscow Committee of the R.C.P.(B.); from 1921 Chairman of the C.C. of the All-Russia Union of Mining Workers.—71, 226, 240, 333-34

Arzhanov, Mikhail Mikhailovich (1873-1941)—railway engineer. From 1918 onwards held key posts in organisations under the People's Commissariat for

Railways. An active participant in the Civil War in the post of Chief of the Central Board of Military Communications of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. He was a member of the Supreme Council for Transport (1921).—339

Asarkh, I. Kh. (d. 1918)—officer in the tsarist army who sided with the Soviets after the October Revolution. Commander of an infantry regiment of the Red Army, afterwards of a detached composite brigade.—117

Avanesov, Varlaam Alexandrovich (1884-1930)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. From 1917 to 1919 Secretary and member of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, subsequently member of the Board of the State Control Commissariat.—292, 432

Avksentyevsky, Konstantin Alexeyevich (1890-1941)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. Took part in the October Revolution and the Civil War. In 1920 commanded the 6th Army of the Southern Front was Assistant Commander of the Southern Front, Deputy Commander of the troops of the Turkestan Front, and in 1921 Deputy Commander of the armed forces of the Ukraine.—345

Avrov, Dmitry Nikolayevich (1890-1922)—joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1918; an active participant in the Civil War. In 1919 Commandant of the Petrograd Fortified Area, afterwards Chief of Petrograd's Internal defence. In 1920-21 commanded the troops of the Petrograd Military District. Took part in the suppression of the anti-Soviet Kronstadt mutiny in 1921.—305

Axelrod, Lyubov Isaakovna (Orthodox) (1868-1946)—philosopher and literary critic, participant in the Social-Democratic movement, a Menshevik. Retired from political activities in 1918 and engaged in teaching at the country's institutions of higher learning.—436

Axelrod, Tovy L. (1888-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917, formerly a member of the Bund. From October 1917 to July 1918 was in charge of the Press Bureau of the Council of People's Commissars, and from 1920 to 1921 managed the Press Department of the Comintern. In 1922 started work in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. Subsequently worked on editorial and publishers' staffs.—81

B

Babkin, Ivan Petrovich (1885-1940)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. In 1917 helped to establish Soviet rule on the Don, where he was a member of the Revolutionary Committee and of the Rostov-Nakhichevan Soviet. From 1920 onwards held administrative and business posts.—357

Bach.—96

Badayev, Alexei Yegorovich (1883-1951)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. Deputy to the Fourth Duma, member of the Bolshevik parliamentary group. After the October Revolution Chairman of the Petrograd Food Board, Food Commissar of Petrograd and the Northern Region, and held other official posts.—218, 223, 359, 375, 392, 393

Balabanova, *Angelica* (b. 1878)—Social-Democrat; after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) a Menshevik. Later took an active part in the Italian Socialist Party; during the First World War was a member of the Zimmerwald Association. In 1917 joined the Bolshevik Party. Attended the First Congress of the Comintern as a non-voting delegate. In 1924 Balabanova was expelled from the Party for adopting a Menshevik position.—155

Bank (*Libavsky*), *Solomon Aronovich* (1894-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. In 1918 Secretary and member of the Presidium of the Vyshny Volochok Uyezd Executive Committee; from June to December 1918 Chairman of the Uyezd Economic Council.—175

Basin.—374

Belenky, *A. Y.* (1883-1941)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. Emigrated to France in 1904. After the October Revolution worked in the Vecheka and O.G.P.U.; from 1919 to 1924 Chief of Lenin's bodyguard.—380, 384

Beloborodov, *Alexander Georgievich* (1891-1938)—joined the Bolshevik Party in 1907. After the February 1917 revolution a member of the Urals Regional Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.). In 1919 authorised agent of the Council of Labour and Defence at the Southern Front, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 9th Army. In 1920 Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Caucasian Labour Army. At the Eighth Congress of the Party was elected to the Central Committee.—216, 228, 250 411, 425

Beneš, *František* (b. 1882)—compositor by trade. Came to Russia in August 1916. In May 1917 joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.), later a member of the Czechoslovak Section of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) and the Section's C.C. In 1918 a member of the staff of the Czechoslovak Department of the People's Commissariat for Nationalities. In February 1920 he returned to Czechoslovakia, where he joined the Right wing of the Social-Democratic Party; worked on the newspaper *Duch Času*, which was published in Moravska Ostrava and expressed the views of the Right Social-Democrats.—435

Berkalov, *Yevgeny Alexandrovich* (1878-1952)—professor, Doctor of Technical Sciences, Member of the Academy of Artillery Sciences, Lieutenant-General of the Engineering Service. Joined the Soviet armed forces at the beginning of the Red Army's organisation.—260

Berzin (*Berzin-Ziemelis*), *Jan Antonovich* (1881-1938)—veteran of the revolutionary movement in Latvia; joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. In 1918 headed the Soviet Mission in Switzerland. In 1919 People's Commissar for Education in Soviet Latvia. Later held diplomatic and government posts.—106, 123, 151, 153, 158, 160, 196

Berzin, *Reingold Iosifovich* (1888-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. In November 1917 commanded the troops of the Northern Group for the suppression of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy at Army Headquarters in Mogilev. In

June 1918 Commander of the Northern-Urals-Siberian Front, and later of the 3rd and 9th armies of the Southern Front. From 1919 to 1920 a member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the Western, Southern and South-Western fronts. In later years held military and business posts.—161

Blagonravov, Georgi Ivanovich (1895-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. After the October Revolution Commissar of the Peter and Paul Fortress. In 1918 a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Eastern Front. From October 1918 to 1931 worked in the Vecheka and O.G.P.U.; afterwards Deputy People's Commissar for Railways and held other posts.—49

Blakitny (Yellansky), Vasily Mikhailovich (1894-1925)—Ukrainian Soviet writer and statesman. Formerly a leader of the Ukrainian Party of Left Socialist-Revolutionaries (Borotbists) and editor of its central organ *Borotba*. Joined the Communist Party of the Ukraine early in 1920. A member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 12th Army, member of the C.C., C.P.(B.) of the Ukraine, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.—357

Blokhin, K. N.—Commander of the 2nd Army of the Eastern Front from June 18 to July 3, 1918.—122

Bogdanov, A. (*Malinovsky, Alexander Alexandrovich*) (1883-1928)—Social-Democrat, philosopher, sociologist and economist, a doctor by profession. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) joined the Bolsheviks. Afterwards leader of the anti-Party *Vperyod* group. In June 1909 was expelled from the Bolshevik Party. After the October Revolution one of the organisers and leaders of Proletcult. In 1926 founded the Blood Transfusion Institute, of which he became Director.—439

Bogdanov, V. I. (b. 1902)—member of the staff of the Commissariat for Agriculture in Borisoglebsk.—169

Bogolepov, Dmitry Petrovich (1885-1941)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1907. During 1914-15 worked in the Social-Democratic parliamentary group in the Fourth Duma. After the October Revolution a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Finance, Deputy People's Commissar for Finance (1918). Subsequently held various financial posts and worked as a teacher.—76, 78

Bogoyavlensky, L. N.—chemical engineer, Manager of the Radioactive Metals Section of the Supreme Economic Council. In 1918 Manager of the Berezniki Radium Plant.—159

Bonch-Bruyevich, Mikhail Dmitrievich (1870-1956)—one of the first military specialists to side with the Soviets. He was Chief of Staff of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, military leader of the Supreme Military Council, and Chief of Field Headquarters of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic.—128

Bonch-Bruyevich, Vladimir Dmitrievich (1873-1955)—professional revolutionary, joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1895. Participant in the October uprising in Petrograd, Commandant of the

Smolny-Tavrichesky District, Chairman of the Commission for Combating Riots, Banditism and Counter-Revolution. During 1917-20 Business Manager of the Council of People's Commissars.—49, 55, 61, 150, 169, 301, 327, 337, 368, 443-44, 446

Bonch-Bruyevich, V. M.—see *Velichkina, V. M.*

Borchardt, Julian (1868-1932)—German Social-Democrat, economist and publicist.—107

Bosh, Yevgenia Bogdanovna (1879-1925)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. After the February 1917 revolution worked in Kiev as Chairman of the Party's Regional Committee; in October 1917 a member of the Kiev Military Revolutionary Committee. After the October Revolution she was a member of the first Soviet Government of the Ukraine, afterwards held military, Party and administrative posts. In 1923 identified herself with the Trotskyite opposition.—66, 138, 239

Botin, Stepan Ivanovich—electrical engineer, worked on the problem of induced detonation by means of radio waves. His experiments were a failure.—384, 447, 460

Brichkina, Sophia Borisovna (1883-1967)—from May 1919 worked as Manager of the General Office of the Council of People's Commissars, afterwards as secretary of the Council, minutes secretary of the C.C. Politbureau and C.C. plenary meetings and Deputy Business Manager of the Party's C.C.—324

Brodsky—member of the staff of the Petrograd Branch of the Vsemirnaya Literatura Publishers. In 1920 represented the State Publishers (Gosizdat) in Stockholm.—453

Broido, Grigory Isaakovich (1885-1956)—joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1918, until then a Menshevik. In 1919 a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 1st Army of the Eastern Front, afterwards head of the Foreign Relations Department of the Turkestan Commission. In 1920 the Commission sent him to Khiva with emergency powers.—362

Bronsky, M. G. (1882-1941)—joined the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania in 1902, afterwards a member of the Bolshevik Party. After the October Revolution Deputy People's Commissar for Trade and Industry. In 1920 appointed Envoy Plenipotentiary and Trade Representative in Austria. In 1924 a member of the Boards of the People's Commissariats for Finance and Foreign Trade, afterwards engaged in teaching and research.—86, 326

Brunovsky.—353

Brusilov, Alexei Alexeyevich (1853-1926)—general in the tsarist army. In 1919 entered the service of the Red Army. In 1920 appointed Chairman of the Special Council under the Commander-in-Chief of the Republic's Armed Forces. Later discharged the duties of Inspector of Cavalry.—429

Bryukhanov, Nikolai Pavlovich (1878-1942)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. After the February revolution (1917) a member of the Ufa Joint Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., Chairman of the Ufa Soviet. After the October Revolution a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for

Food, then Deputy People's Commissar, and in 1921 People's Commissar for Food.—76, 109, 120, 125, 162, 309, 380, 408, 438, 442, 452

Bryusov, Valery Yakovlevich (1873-1924)—well-known Russian poet. Joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1919; head of the Library Section of the People's Commissariat for Education.—180

Bubnov, Andrei Sergeyevich (1883-1940)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. After the February 1917 revolution a member of the Moscow Regional Bureau of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.), of the Petersburg Committee and of the C.C. of the Party. Took an active part in the October Revolution as a member of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee and the Military Revolutionary Centre set up by the Party's C.C. for leadership of the armed uprising. In March 1918 became a member of the Ukrainian Soviet Government and of the C.C. of the C.P.(B.) of the Ukraine. In 1919 became a member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the Ukrainian Front and of the 14th Army. In 1924 head of the Political Department of the Red Army and member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the U.S.S.R. In 1925 Secretary of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.). From 1929 to 1937 People's Commissar for Education of the R.S.F.S.R.—237, 247

Budassi, Alexander Vladimirovich (d. 1941)—railway engineer. In January 1920 appointed Chief Engineer for the construction of the Alexandrov-Gai-Emba line and conversion of the Krasny Kut-Alexandrov-Gai line to a broad gauge.—345-46

Budyonny, Semyon Mikhailovich (1883-1973)—joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1919. During 1919-21 commanded a cavalry division, then a cavalry corps and the 1st Mounted Army, which played an important part in the defeat of Denikin, the White Poles and Wrangel. Subsequently occupied a number of command posts in the Soviet Army.—288, 341, 414, 440

Bukharin, Nikolai Ivanovich (1888-1938)—joined the Bolshevik Party in 1906. After the October Revolution editor of *Pravda*, member of the Politbureau of the C.C., member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. Repeatedly came out against the Party's Leninist policy: in 1918 headed the anti-Party group of "Left Communists"; during the trade union discussion within the Party (1920-21) he supported Trotsky's group; in 1928 headed the Right opposition within the C.P.S.U. In 1929 he was removed from the Politbureau of the C.C. In 1937 he was expelled from the Party for anti-Party activities.—47, 98, 99, 173, 283, 378, 439, 445

Bukhartsev, Pyotr Vasilievich (b. 1886)—joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1918. In April 1920 appointed authorised agent of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade in the Northern Caucasus.—389

Bulatov, A. A. (b. 1877)—from March to November 1917 Commissar of the bourgeois Provisional Government in Novgorod Gubernia. In 1919 Chairman of the Artel Association in Novgorod.—232

Bulatov, Dmitry Alexandrovich (1889-1941)—during 1918-20

Deputy Chairman of the Tver Gubernia Executive Committee, Gubernia Food Commissar then Chairman of the Gubernia Executive Committee. From 1920 engaged in Party work.—174

Bullitt, *William Christian* (b. 1891)—American journalist and diplomat. In 1919 he was sent to Soviet Russia on a special mission by Wilson and Lloyd George.—225, 386

C

Chicherin, *Georgi Vasilievich* (1872-1936)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. From 1918 to 1930 People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. Headed the Soviet delegations to the international conferences in Genoa and Lausanne. A member of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R.—63, 68, 80, 88, 91, 98, 112, 136, 151, 152, 165, 192, 224, 241, 244, 247, 271, 272, 290, 300, 309, 323, 325, 352, 365, 371, 373, 378, 386, 391, 401, 412, 415, 421, 423, 434, 435, 446, 454

Chubar, *Vlas Yakovlevich* (1891-1941)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1907. From 1918 to 1923 Chairman of the Board of the GOMZ group of engineering works, Chairman of the Chief Metal Committee of the Supreme Economic Council, Chairman of the Economic Council of the Ukraine, Director of the Central Administration of the Donbas Coal Mining Industry.—431

Churchill, *Winston* (1874-1965)—British statesman, Conservative. During 1918-21, as War Minister, he was one of the leading spirits in organising armed intervention against Soviet Russia.—421

Chutskayev, *Sergei Yegorovich* (1876-1946)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. From 1918 to 1921 a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Finance, then Deputy People's Commissar for Finance.—352

Clemenceau, Georges Benjamin (1841-1929)—French politician and statesman. From 1906 to 1909 head of the French Government. In the interests of big capital pursued a policy of brutal repressions against the working class. After the victory of the October Revolution was one of the organisers and sponsors of the blockade and armed intervention against Soviet Russia.—224, 225

Curzon, *George Nathaniel* (1859-1925)—British statesman and diplomat. During 1919-24 Foreign Secretary. One of the chief organisers of foreign military intervention against Soviet Russia. In July 1920, during the Polish-Soviet conflict, sent a Note to the Soviet Government demanding that the advance of the Red Army be halted at the line accepted by the Allied Supreme Council in December 1919 as Poland's eastern frontier, subsequently known as the "Curzon Line".—386, 403, 415

D

Dahl, *Vladimir Ivanovich* (1801-1872)—Russian dialectologist, ethnographer and writer. Author of Dictionary of the Living Great-Russian Language.—327

Dan (*Gurvich*), *Fyodor Ivanovich* (1871-1947)—a leader of the Mensheviks, a doctor by profes-

sion. After the February 1917 revolution a member of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet and of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee first convocation; supported the bourgeois Provisional Government. In 1920 deputy to the Moscow Soviet. Deported from the country in the beginning of 1922 as an enemy of the Soviet state.—350

Danishevsky, Karl Khristianovich (1884-1941)—at the end of 1906 elected to the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. on which he represented the Social-Democrats of the Lettish region. After the October Revolution a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic and of the R.M.C. of the Eastern Front, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Tribunal of the Republic. In 1920 Chairman of the Soviet peace delegation to the conference in Minsk devoted to the question of ending the war and establishing friendly relations between the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R. and Poland. In 1921 Secretary of the Siberian Bureau of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P.(B.); subsequently held various business posts.—122, 412, 416, 417

Daszynski, Ignazi (1866-1936)—Polish politician. From 1892 to 1919 leader of the Galician Social-Democratic Party, then one of the leaders of the united Polish Socialist Party (Right-wing). From 1919 onwards thrice elected to the Polish Seim in which he was Chairman of the P.S.P. parliamentary group. In 1920 joined the Polish Government of the bourgeoisie and landowners in the capacity of Deputy Prime Minister. Supported the fascist coup and the Pilsudski regime in Poland.—415, 416

Denikin, Anton Ivanovich (1872-1947)—general in the tsarist army. During the foreign military intervention and Civil War (1918-20) he was Commander-in-Chief of the white-guard armed forces in the south of Russia. After his defeat by the Soviet troops (March 1920) an émigré.—204, 225, 259, 271, 285, 289, 296, 299, 319, 342, 343

Dumas, Charles (b. 1883)—journalist and publicist, member of the Socialist Party of France, member of parliament.—51

Dumenko, B. M. (1888-1920)—joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1919. One of the organisers and commanders of the Red Army during the Civil War.—204

Dybenko, Pavel Yefimovich (1889-1938)—after the February 1917 revolution Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Baltic Fleet Soviets (Centrobalt). At the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets elected to the Council of People's Commissars in the capacity of member of the Committee for Military and Naval Affairs. From October 1918 until the end of the Civil War commanded units of the Red Army at the Ukrainian, Southern, Caucasian and other fronts.—213, 219

Dyrenkov, Nikolai Ivanovich—engineer; in March 1918 appointed Business Manager of the Rybinsk Economic Council.—7

Dzerzhinsky, Felix Edmundovich (1877-1926)—one of the organisers of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania.

Carried on Party work in Poland and Russia. At the Fourth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1906) was elected to the C.C. During the period of preparations for and carrying out of the October Revolution he was a member of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee and the Military Revolutionary Centre for directing the uprising. After the victory of the Revolution he was Chairman of the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage (the Vecheka). In 1921 appointed People's Commissar for Railways while retaining his posts as Chairman of the Vecheka and People's Commissar for Internal Affairs. In 1924 Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council.—69, 95, 173, 213, 245, 250, 282, 283, 297, 338, 356, 368, 410, 420, 425, 450, 451, 455

E

Eismont, Nikolai Boleslavovich (b. 1891)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. In 1920 a member of the Board of the Supreme Economic Council, then Deputy Chairman of the S.E.C. of the R.S.F.S.R. —461

Eliava, Shalva Zurabovich (1883-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. In December 1917 Chairman of the Presidium of the Vologda Soviet. In April 1918 Deputy Chairman of the Vologda Gubernia Joint Executive Committee, in November 1918 a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Trade and Industry. In 1919 a member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the Eastern and Turkestan fronts Chairman of the Special Commission for Turkestan Affairs. Subsequently P.C. for Military and Naval Affairs of Georgia and of Transcaucasia, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Transcaucasian S.F.S.R.—126, 315, 318, 362, 376

Eltsin, Boris Mikhailovich (b. 1875)—during 1919-20 Chairman of the Ufa Gubernia Revolutionary Committee.—333

F

Fedoseyev, Mikhail Mitrofanovich—owner of a printing-press in the town of Yelatma, Tambov Gubernia.—195

Fineberg, Joseph (1886-1957)—one of the founders of the Communist Party of Great Britain. In 1918 he came to Soviet Russia, carried on propaganda work among the interventionist troops and among the prisoners of war. Took part in convening the First Congress of the Communist International and in the work of the Congress. Worked in the Comintern up to 1935.—371

Fotieva, Lydia Alexandrovna (b. 1881)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. In 1918 became secretary of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labour and Defence, simultaneously Lenin's private secretary.—73, 151, 200, 201, 202, 305, 359, 376, 377, 379, 394, 400, 415, 428, 431

Frankfurt, Sergei Mironovich (b. 1888;—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. After the October Revolution worked in the Commission for the Implementation of the Brest Treaty, then Dep-

uty Chairman of the Board of the Chief Coal Committee of the Supreme Economic Council (1919), member of the Siberian Bureau of the S.E.C. (1920). From 1921 to 1925 worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.—454

Frumkin, *Moisei Ilyich* (1878-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. After the October Revolution a member of the Board of the Food Commissariat, Deputy People's Commissar for Food (up to March 1922). In 1920 Deputy Chairman of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee, then authorised agent of the Food Commissariat. Later Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade, Deputy People's Commissar for Finance, and held other posts.—298, 342, 442

Frunze, *Mikhail Vasilievich* (1885-1925)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. During the Civil War Army Commander, Commander of the Southern Group of the Eastern Front, Commander of the Eastern, Turkestan and Southern fronts. After the Civil War Commander of the troops in the Ukraine and the Crimea. In 1925 Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic and People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs.—227, 259, 268, 286, 291, 295, 308, 314, 332, 376, 428, 459

G

Galaktionov, *Alexei Petrovich* (1888-1922)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1906. After the February 1917 revolution a member of the Samara Soviet. After the liberation of Samara from the White Czech troops (October 1918), Chairman of the Samara Gubernia Executive Committee. In 1919 special agent of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee for realisation of the harvest in Samara Gubernia.—196-97

Gerd, *Alexander Yakovlevich* (1841-1888)—Russian progressive educationist, author of a number of textbooks on natural science; from 1880 engaged in organising town schools in St. Petersburg.—188

Gil, *Stepan Kazimirovich* (1888-1966)—from 1917 to 1924 Lenin's chauffeur.—368

Gillerson, *Solomon Isidorovich* (b. 1869)—during 1920-21 head of the Soviet Red Cross Mission in Prague engaged in the repatriation of Russian prisoners of war from Czechoslovakia.—435

Gittis, *Vladimir Mikhailovich* (1881-1938)—colonel in the tsarist army. From 1918 served in the Red Army. Commanded the 6th Army of the Northern Front, then the 8th Army and the armies of the Southern Front. From July 1919 to April 1920 Commander of the Western Front, then of the Caucasian Front.—165, 240, 264, 298

Glazunov, *Nikolai Yakovlevich* (b. 1882)—during 1919-20 Commissar at Strunino station, Northern Railway.—455

Glebov (*Avilov*, *Nikolai Pavlovich*) (1887-1942)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. After the October Revolution People's Commissar for Posts and Telegraphs. In May 1918 Commissar of the Black Sea Fleet; subsequently member of the Presidium and Secretary of the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions, People's Com-

missar for Labour of the Ukraine.—270

Glyasser, *Maria Ignatievna* (1890-1951)—from 1918 to 1924 worked in the Secretariat of the Council of People's Commissars.—376, 458

Goikhbarg, *Alexander Grigorievich* (1883-1962)—held key positions in the People's Commissariat for Justice. Prosecutor at the trial of the Kolchak ministers in Omsk. From 1921 to 1923 Chairman of the Narrow Council of People's Commissars.—386

Goldberg, *Boris Isayevich* (1884-1946)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. From 1919 to 1921 Commander of the Reserve Army of the Republic and the Volga Military District; afterwards Deputy Chairman of the Chief Committee of Public Buildings and Works under the Supreme Economic Council, Assistant Chief of the Republic's Air Force Board and held other posts.—296, 308, 359-60

Goltsman, *A. Z.* (1894-1933)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. From 1917 to 1920 a member of the C.C. of the Metalworkers' Union. From 1920 to 1921 member of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions.—461

Golub, *Alexander Naumovich* (b. 1885)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. After the October Revolution worked in the People's Commissariat for Labour and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. In 1919 a member of the Extraordinary Commission sent to Khiva to conduct peace negotiations; a member of the Board of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Turkestan Republic.—362

Gomberg.—81

Gopner, *David Yulievich* (1884-1925)—during the October days took an active part in establishing Soviet power in Ekaterinoslav. From 1920 occupied key posts in Soviet Central Asia.—362

Gorbunov, *Nikolai Petrovich* (1892-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. After the October Revolution secretary of the Council of People's Commissars. In August 1918 appointed Manager of the Science and Technology Department of the Supreme Economic Council of the R.S.F.S.R. During 1919-20 a member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the 13th and 14th armies; subsequently Business Manager of the R.S.F.S.R. Council of People's Commissars.—57, 68, 72, 106, 108, 136, 156, 159,

Gorky, *Maxim* (*Peshkov*, *Alexei Maximovich*) (1868-1936)—Russian author, the father of Soviet literature.—211, 260, 283-85, 286, 359, 370, 452

Gorter, *Herman* (1864-1927)—Dutch Social-Democrat, publicist. During 1918-21 a member of the Dutch Communist Party; took part in the work of the Comintern.—155

Graber, *Ernest-Paul* (b. 1875)—Swiss Social-Democrat. In 1918 joined the Right wing of Swiss Social-Democracy. During the First World War an internationalist, supporter of the Zimmerwald Left. In 1918-21 a member of the Communist Party of Holland; took part in the work of the Comintern, adopted an Ultra-Left sectarian position. In 1921 he withdrew

from the Party and subsequently retired from political activity.—153

Graftio, *Heinrich Osipovich* (1869-1949)—Soviet power scientist, Academician, a pioneer of hydropower construction in Russia. From 1918 to 1920 Assistant Chief Engineer, then Chief Engineer of the Volkhov hydropower project. Took part in the work of GOELRO (the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia). Subsequently in charge of the construction of a number of big hydropower stations.—415

Grigoriev, *N. A.* (1878-1919)—officer in the tsarist army. In May 1919 raised a counter-revolutionary revolt in the rear of the Soviet military units in the south of the Ukraine.—229, 241

Grimm, *Robert* (1881-1958)—a leader of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party. During 1909-18 Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *Berner Tagwacht* and Secretary of the party. From 1911 a member of the Swiss parliament. Was one of the founders of the Vienna (II½) International.—153

Grinberg.—398

Groman, *Vladimir Gustavovich* (b. 1874)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik. From the beginning of the February 1917 revolution was in charge of Petrograd's food supply. In 1918 Chairman of the Northern Food Council. In 1919 special agent of the Council of Defence for the evacuation of Petrograd. In 1920 Chairman of the Commission for Studying the Losses to Russia's National Economy Caused by the Imperialist and Civil Wars.—305-06

Cruzenberg (*Borodin*), *Mikhail Markovich* (1884-1951)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. From 1907 to 1918 lived in America. From 1918 to 1922 worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R. and in the Comintern.—399

Guilbeaux, *Henri* (1885-1938)—French socialist, journalist.—153, 158

Gukovsky, *Isidor Emmanuilovich* (1871-1921)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. After the October Revolution Deputy People's Commissar, then People's Commissar for Finance. In 1919 member of the Board of the Commissariat for State Control. From 1920 onwards in the diplomatic service.—78, 81, 108, 110, 115-16

Gusev, *Sergei Ivanovich* (*Drabkin*, *Y. D.*) (1874-1933)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1896. After the October Revolution carried on political work in the Red Army. Member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the 5th and 2nd armies, and of the Eastern, South-Eastern and Southern fronts.—183, 194, 196, 217, 243, 245, 249, 251, 254, 265, 428

H

Haapalainen, *Eero* (1880-1938)—Finnish revolutionary, participant in the workers' revolution in Finland in 1918; was People's Representative for Internal and Military Affairs in the Revolutionary Government of Finland and Commander-in-Chief of the Finnish Red Guard. After the defeat of the revolution resided in the U.S.S.R.—226

Hanecki (*Fürstenberg*), *Jakob* (1879-1937)—prominent leader of the Polish and Russian revolutionary movement, joined the Social-Democratic Party in 1896, member of the Chief Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania. In 1917 a member of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. Bureau Abroad. After the October Revolution a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Finance, Commissar and Manager of the People's Bank.—46, 47, 99, 265

Heller (*Ciarini*), *A. M.* (1891-1935)—born in Russia, emigrated to Italy in 1916, where he took part in the socialist movement. Came to Soviet Russia in 1920, employed in Comintern work.—362, 387, 445

Henderson, *Arthur* (1863-1935)—a leader of the British Labour Party and trade union movement. In 1919 one of the sponsors of the Berne (Second) International.—60, 421

Herzog, *Jakob* (1892-1931)—Swiss Social-Democrat. On October 1, 1918, expelled from the Swiss Social-Democratic Party. Headed the Vorderung (Demand) group of a radical trend, which subsequently became known as the Old Communists group. Attended the Second Congress of the Comintern. From 1921 onwards a member of the Communist Party of Switzerland, formed as a result of the amalgamation of the Old Communists with the Left Social-Democrats.—158

Heywood, *William* (1869-1928)—a leader of the U .S. labour movement, one of the leaders of the Left wing of the Socialist Party. A founder and leader of the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World). Shortly after the founding of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. he joined its ranks. Persecuted for his revolutionary activities, he left the United States. From 1921 onwards he lived in the U.S.S.R .—44

Höglund, *Carl Zeth Konstantin* (1884-1956)—Swedish Social-Democrat, during 1917-24 a leader of the Swedish Communist Party.—326

I

Ilyin, *Fyodor Nikolayevich* (1876-1944)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1897. From 1907 to 1917 a political emigrant abroad. After the October Revolution returned to Russia; worked in the Moscow Soviet, the Revolutionary Tribunal, the Supreme Court, and the State Planning Commission of the R.S.F.S.R.—432

Ivanov, *Andrei Vasilievich* (1889-1927)—worker of the Putilov Works in Petrograd. In April 1918 elected Chairman of the Works Committee for Purchasing Food Products for the Workers.—86

Ivashchenko, *D. Y.* (1892-1947)—joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1918. In 1918 Commissar of Orsha station. From 1920 onwards worked in the Cheka of Byelorussia, the frontier guards, the G.P.U. and the Commissariat for Internal Affairs.—113

Izmailov, *Abdurakhman Yusupovich*—during 1919-20 a member of the Bashkir Regional Committee of the R.C.P.(B.), member of the Board of the Bashkir Cheka.—334

J

Joffe, Adolph Abramovich (1883-1927)—joined the Social-Democratic movement at the end of the 1890s. During the October days (1917) a member of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee. In 1918 a "Left Communist". During the Brest peace negotiations was a member of the Soviet delegation. From April to November 1918 Soviet Ambassador in Berlin; continued in the diplomatic service.—68, 90, 91, 98, 106, 111, 112, 123, 150, 151, 153, 155, 156, 219, 237, 434, 444

Junius—see *Luxemburg, Rosa.*

K

Kaledin, Alexei Maximovich (1861-1918)—general in the tsarist army, a Don Cossack ataman. After the October Revolution a leader of the Cossack counter-revolution on the Don, helped to form the white-guard Volunteer Army, led the Cossack revolt.—49, 53

Kalinin, Mikhail Ivanovich (1875-1946)—worked in the first underground Marxist workers' circles and in the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Active participant in the first Russian revolution. At the Sixth (Prague) Conference in 1912 elected alternate member of the Central Committee, subsequently elected to the Bureau of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. in Russia. One of the organisers of the newspaper *Pravda*. During the February revolution (1917) a member of the Executive Commission of the Petersburg Committee. After the October Revolution the Mayor and then Commissar of the Municipal Services of Petrograd. From March 1919 onwards Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. After the Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) (1919) C.C. member; from 1926 member of the C.C. Politbureau.—186, 212, 227-28, 234, 287, 346, 429, 432

Kalmykova, Alexandra Mikhailovna (1849-1926)—after the October Revolution worked in the Leningrad Department of Education and the Ushinsky Pedagogical Institute.—368

Kamenev (*Rosenfeld*), *Lev Borisovich* (1883-1936)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. Member of the editorial boards of the newspapers *Proletary* and *Pravda*. At the Seventh (April) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) (1917) elected to the Central Committee. After the February 1917 revolution came out against the Party's line towards the socialist revolution. In October 1917 published in the semi-Menshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* in his own name and in the name of Zinoviev a statement announcing their disagreement with the resolution of the C.C. concerning an armed uprising, thus divulging a secret decision of the Party and betraying the revolution. After the October Revolution he was Chairman of the Moscow Soviet, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and member of the C.C. Politbureau. Repeatedly came out against the Party's Leninist policy. At the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1927 was expelled from the Party as an

active member of the Trotskyite opposition, and subsequently twice reinstated and re-expelled for anti-Party activities.—57, 149, 169, 196, 202, 219, 221, 231, 245, 265, 273, 283, 293, 333, 342, 350, 380, 401, 404-05, 409, 415, 421, 423, 441

Kamenev, *Sergei Sergeyevich* (1881-1936)—colonel in the tsarist army; after the October Revolution sided with the Soviets. In September 1918 appointed Commander of the Eastern Front. From July 1919 to April 1924 Commander-in-Chief of the Republic's Armed Forces. During 1925-26 Chief of Staff, Chief Inspector of the Red Army, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the U.S.S.R. From 1927 onwards Deputy People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs.—266, 270, 273, 281, 286, 295, 300-01, 307, 342, 379, 383, 389, 408, 409, 412, 416, 421, 429, 434, 440, 447, 461

Kaminsky, *Grigory Naumovich* (1895-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1913. In 1917 authorised agent of the Moscow Regional Bureau of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in Tula. After the October Revolution Chairman of the Tula Gubernia Committee of the Party and the Gubernia Executive Committee. Member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 2nd Army. In 1920 Secretary of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, Chairman of the Baku Soviet. From 1922 onwards occupied Party, trade union and administrative posts.—204, 240, 293

Kamo—see *Ter-Petrosyan*, *S. A.*

Karakhan, *Lev Mikhailovich* (1889-1937)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1904. Became a member of the Bolshevik Party in 1917. Secretary and member of the Soviet delegation at the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations. From 1918 onwards a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and Deputy People's Commissar.—53, 68, 152-53, 293, 356, 365, 391

Karelin, *Vladimir Alexandrovich* (1891-1938)—one of the organisers of the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Party and member of its C.C. In December 1917 a member of the Council of People's Commissars in the capacity of People's Commissar for State Properties. In March 1918 resigned from the Council following the signing of the Brest Peace Treaty. Was one of the leaders of the Left S.R. revolt in July 1918. After its suppression he emigrated.—83, 84

Kartashov, *A. V.* (b. 1875)—in 1917 Senior Procurator of the Synod, Minister of Creeds. Later a member of the white-guard government of Yudenich.—70

Kautsky, *Karl* (1854-1938)—a leader of the German Social-Democratic Party and the Second International, first a Marxist, later an ideologist of Centrism (Kautskianism). Editor of *Die Neue Zeit*, theoretical journal of the German Social-Democrats.—151, 153, 155, 160, 290

Kayurov, *V. N.* (1876-1936)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1900. In the summer of 1918 headed a food detachment in Kazan Gubernia; afterwards worked in the Political Department of the 5th Army of the Eastern Front. From 1921 onwards held business posts.—203

Kedrov, *Mikhail Sergeyevich* (1878-1941)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. After the October Revolution member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Military Affairs, Military Commissar for army demobilisation. In May 1918 he was sent to the north to organise the defence of the region. In March 1919 member of the Board of the Vecheka. From 1924 onwards worked in the Supreme Economic Council, the Commissariat for Health, the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and the State Planning Commission of the R.S.F.S.R.—129

Keeley, *Royal* (b. 1875)—American mechanical engineer. Came to Soviet Russia in September 1919. After survey of factories in Moscow Gubernia and a study of general conditions of life in the R.S.F.S.R. he presented to Lenin a report of his impressions and ideas for rehabilitating the ruined industry. Worked in the Supreme Economic Council as organising engineer.—310, 312

Kerensky, *Alexander Fyodorovich* (b. 1881)—Socialist-Revolutionary. After the February 1917 revolution Minister for Justice, Minister for the Army and Navy, and subsequently Prime Minister of the bourgeois Provisional Government and Supreme Commander-in-Chief. After the October Revolution fought against the Soviet government, and in 1918 fled the country.—168

Keynes, *John Maynard* (1883-1946)—British bourgeois economist.—405

Kharlamov, *S. D.* (b. 1881)—officer in the tsarist army; after the October Revolution served in the Red Army. In 1919 commanded the 16th Army of the Western Front and the Southern Shock Group, and was Chief of Staff of the South-Western Front.—297

Kharlov, *VasiIy Nikolayevich* (b. 1887)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. From 1917 to 1918 a member of the Ostrovsky Uyezd Soviet, Pskov Gubernia; was Chairman of the Pskov Gubernia Zemstvo Committee. During 1918-20 a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture. In 1918 authorised agent of the Council of People's Commissars for realisation of the harvest in Saratov Gubernia.—75, 137, 145

Khinchuk, *L. M.* (1868-1944)—during 1917-20 a member of the Board of the Moscow Workers' Co-operative Society.—168

Khodorovsky, *I. I.* (1885-1940)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. During 1919-20 Chairman of the Kazan, then Tula Gubernia Executive Committees, Secretary of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee, R.C.P.(B.)—366

Khryashchova, *A. I.* (1868-1934)—statistician. During 1918-26 Manager of the Agricultural Census Department of the Central Statistical Board.—201

Kilbom, *Karl* (b. 1885)—Swedish Social-Democrat, journalist. A member of the Swedish Communist Party, which he joined in 1917 and which he represented on the Executive Committee of the Comintern.—326

Kirov (*Kostrikov*), *Sergei Mironovich* (1886-1934)—joined tbe R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. In 1917 leader of the Bolsheviks in

Vladikavkaz, organiser of the struggle for a socialist revolution in the Northern Caucasus. As a delegate to the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets he took part in the fighting during the October Revolution in Petrograd. In 1919 Chairman of the Provisional Military Revolutionary Committee of the Astrakhan region. At the head of the 11th Army helped to bring about the defeat of Denikin. In 1931 he became Secretary of the C.C., C.P.(B.) of Azerbaijan; in 1921 alternate member of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.), and in 1923 member of the C.C. In 1926 Secretary of the Leningrad Gubernia Committee of the Party and of the North-Western Bureau of the C.C., All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Was alternate member, then member of the C.C. Politbureau, member of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. In 1934 Secretary of the C.C., of the Communist Party.—347, 357

Kiselyov, Alexei Semyonovich (1879-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. In 1918 elected Chairman of the Central Committee of Textile Industry, then member of the Board of the Supreme Economic Council. In 1919 Chairman of the Committee of the Council of Labour and Defence set up to inspect the Food Commissariat, and member of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee. In 1920 Chairman of the Miners' Union,—355

Kizas, A. P. (1899-1959)—from November 1917 to August 1922 worked in the Secretariat of the Council of People's Commissars.—376

Klasson, Robert Eduardovich (1868-1926)—outstanding power engineer. Took an active part in drafting the GOELRO (electrification) plan; was Director of the 1st Moscow Electric Station.—456-58

Klein, Hermann (1844-1914)—German astronomer, author of popular science books on astronomy.—453

Klinger, G. K. (b. 1876)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917, attended the First, Second and Third Congresses of the Communist International, in 1919 Business Manager of the Comintern. During 1920-24 worked in the People's Commissariat for Nationalities, afterwards Manager of the Department of Nationalities and Manager of the Secretariat of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.—326

Kobetsky, Mikhail Veniaminovich (1881-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. During 1920-21 Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. During 1921-23 Department Manager of the Comintern Executive Committee; subsequently in the diplomatic service.—397

Kobozev, Pyotr Alexeyevich (1878-1941)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. From November 1917 to February 1918 Commissar Extraordinary of the Orenburg-Turgai region, afterwards appointed Commissar Extraordinary in Central Asia; was Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Eastern Front. In 1919 a member of the Turkestan Commission of the All-Russia C.E.C. and the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. During 1919-20

member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. During 1922-23 Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Far Eastern Republic.—122

Kokoshkin, *Fyodor Fyodorovich* (1871-1918)—a leader of the Cadet Party. After the February 1917 revolution a Minister in the bourgeois Provisional Government.—54

Kolchak, *Alexander Vasilievich* (1873-1920)—admiral of the tsarist Navy. During 1918-19 one of the chief leaders of the Russian counter-revolution. With the support of the imperialists of the U.S.A., Britain and France, proclaimed himself Supreme Ruler of Russia and headed the military dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and landowners in the Urals, Siberia and the Far East. The advance of the Red Army and growth of the revolutionary partisan movement led to the downfall of the Kolchak regime. Kolchak himself was captured and on February 7, 1920, by a decision of the Irkutsk Revolutionary Committee, he was executed.—191, 196, 225, 250, 259, 285, 319, 382, 386

Kolegayev, *Andrei Lukich* (1887-1937)—Left Socialist-Revolutionary. In December 1917 a member of the Council of People's Commissars in the capacity of Commissar for Agriculture. In March 1918 resigned from the Council following the signing of the Brest Peace Treaty. After the suppression of the Left S. R. revolt he broke with the S.R. Party and in November 1918 joined the R.C.P.(B.). He was Chief of Supply of the Southern Front and member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the front.—61, 114, 201

Kolesov, *Fyodor Ivanovich* (1891-1940)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. Active participant in the October Revolution in Turkestan. From November 1917 to November 1918 Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Turkestan Republic. During 1919-22 held political key posts in the Red Army. Afterwards occupied business posts.—118, 140

Kon, *Felix* (1864-1941)—a veteran leader of the Polish revolutionary labour movement. After the February 1917 revolution he came to Russia and in 1918 joined the R.C.P.(B.). Engaged in Party work in the Ukraine and in Moseow.—372

Kopp, *Viktor Leontievich* (1880-1930)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917; from 1919 to 1930 worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. —326

Kornev, *Vasily Stepanovich* (b. 1889)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. During 1918-19 Chairman of the Ryazan Gubernia Executive Committee, then Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs in charge of the Forces of Internal Security, member of the Board of the Vecheka, Chief of the Militia of the R.S.F.S.R.—450, 451

Korolenko, *Vladimir Galaktionovich* (1853-1921)—Russian author and publicist.—284

Kostelovskaya, *Maria Mikhailovna* (1878-1964)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. After the February 1917 revolution Secretary of Moscow's Presnya

District Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.). Active participant in the October armed uprising in Moscow. During the Civil War Chief of the Political Department of the 2nd Army of the Eastern Front.—199, 222

Kostyaev, Fyodor Vasilievich (b. 1878)—officer in the tsarist army; sided with the Soviets after the October Revolution. In 1918 Chief of Staff of the Northern Front- afterwards Chief of Staff of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. Later instructor at thc Military Academy of the General Staff.—231

Kovylkin, Stepan Terentievich (1887-1943)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. After the February 1917 revolution Chairman of the Factory Committee of the Railway Workshops in Saratov, then member of the Executive Committee of the Soviet. In 1919 started work on transport: a member of the Board of the Commissariat for Railways, Manager of the Transport Department of the Vecheka, Superintendent of the South-Eastern Railway, authorised agent for combating banditism on the railways and water transport and held other posts.—339

Kozhevnikov, Sergei Nikolayevich (1896-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917; in 1918 Commissar Extraordinary of the Donets Basin, afterwards held political key posts in the Red Army.—62-63

Kozmin, P. A. (1871-1936)—technologist, subsequently Doctor of Technical Sciences, professor. After the October Revolution member of the Board of the Food Commissariat and Commissar for the Supply of Agricultural Machines to the Countryside, afterwards Deputy Chairman of the Special Defence Council. Helped in the drafting of the GOELRO (electrification) plan.—50

Krasikov, Pyotr Ananievich (1870-1939)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1892; Social-Democrat, Bolshevik. After the October Revolution Chairman of the Commission of Inquiry for Combating Counter-Revolution, then member of the Board of the U.S.S.R. People's Commissariat for Justice, simultaneously in charge of the Commissariat's Department which handled the drafting and enforcement of decrees and measures aimed at the disestablishment of the Church.—351

Krasin, Leonid Borisovich (1870-1926)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in the 1890s. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D L.P. (1903) a Bolshevik. In 1918 took part in the negotiations for the conclusion of an economic agreement with Germany, afterwards headed the work of the Extraordinary Commission for Supply of the Red Army; was a member of the Board of the Supreme Economic Council and People's Commissar for Trade and Industry. In 1919 entered the diplomatic service. During 1922-24 People's Commissar for Foreign Trade.—99, 113, 151, 192, 204, 221, 294, 317, 321, 350, 354, 358, 371, 375, 386, 396, 401, 423

Krasnov, Pyotr Nikolayevich (1869-1947)—general in the tsarist army. During 1918-19 com-

manded the whiteguard Cossack army on the Don.—181, 204

Krestinsky, Nikolai Nikolayevich (1883-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. During 1918-21 People's Commissar for Finance; from December 1919 to March 1921 Secretary of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.).—204, 223, 234, 236, 246, 323, 334, 342, 353, 364, 382, 412-13, 414, 422, 423, 424, 439, 443, 446

Krupskaya, Nadezhda Konstantinovna (1869-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898, associate and wife of V. I. Lenin. Started revolutionary activities in the 1890s in the Marxist students' circles in St. Petersburg, then conducted Social-Democratic propaganda among the workers. In 1895 joined the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. In August 1896 was arrested and sentenced to three years' exile. Served her sentence in the village of Shushenskoye, then in Ufa. In 1901 emigrated worked as secretary of the editorial board of *Iskra*. Took part in organising the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Was secretary of the editorial board of the Bolshevik papers *Vperyod* and *Proletary*. After the October Revolution worked in public education bodies.—51, 384, 403

Krylenko, Nikolai Vasilievich (1885-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. Was in the first Soviet Government in the capacity of member of the Committee for Military and Naval Affairs, later Supreme Commander-in-Chief. From 1918 onwards worked in Soviet justice agencies.—53, 58, 61, 263, 269

Krzhizhanovskaya-Nevzorova, Zinaida Pavlovna (1870-1948)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. After the October Revolution Deputy Manager of the Extra-Mural Department of the Commissariat for Education.—192

Krzhizhanovsky, Gleb Maximilianovich (1872-1959)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1893, one of the organisers of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. After the February 1917 revolution a member of the Bolshevik group in the Moscow Soviet. After the October Revolution worked on the rehabilitation and development of Moscow's power economy; in 1920, on Lenin's assignment, he headed the Commission for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO).—337, 415, 437-38, 447, 456

Ksandrov, V. N. (1877-1942)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904 After the October Revolution Chairman of lhe Chief Fuel Committee, member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Railways. From 1920 member of the Board of the Supreme Economic Council of the Ukraine and then of the U.S.S.R. and of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R.—297, 351, 431

Kudinsky (d. 1918)—Commissar at General Headquarters.—64

Kugushev, Vyacheslav Alexandrovich (1863-1944)—joined the revolutionary movement in the 1880s. In 1919 head of the Procurements Department in Ufa Gubernia. In 1920 engaged in co-operative work. In 1921 back at work in the Food Commissariat, then worked in finance.—305

Kühlmann, Richard von (1873-1948)—from August 1917 to July 1918 German Foreign Secretary, headed the German delegation to the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations.—111

Kuibyshev, Valerian Vladimirovich (1888-1935)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. Active participant in the October Revolution, organiser of the armed uprising in Samara. During 1918-19 Commissar and member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Southern Group of the Eastern Front, then Deputy Chairman of the Commission of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. and the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) for Affairs of Turkestan. In 1920 Plenipotentiary of the R.S.D.L.P. with the Government of Bukhara; afterwards member of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions. In May 1921 became a member of the Board of the Supreme Economic Council and appointed Superintendent of the Chief Electricity Board. In April 1922 elected Secretary of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.).—74, 315

Kun, Bela (1886-1939)—one of the founders and leaders of the Communist Party of Hungary. In 1919 virtual Head of the Hungarian Soviet Government, in which he held the posts of People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs and member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Military Affairs.—205, 208, 271, 435

Kursky, Dmitry Ivanovich (1874-1932)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. From 1918 to 1928 People's Commissar for Justice of the R.S.F.S.R. During 1919-20 member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, Commissar of General and Field Headquarters of the Red Army.—206, 262, 393, 414

Kuzmin.—53

Kuzmin, N. N. (1883-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. During 1917-18 Commissar of the South-Western Front. From August 1918 onwards with the Soviet troops in the north, Commissar of the 6th Army member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the 3rd and 6th armies, Military Commissar of the Baltic Fleet Commander of the 12th Army, Assistant Commander of the Baltic Fleet.—209, 352

Kviring, Emanuil Ionnovich (1888-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1912. After the February 1917 revolution a leader of the Ekaterinoslav organisation of the Bolsheviks. In 1919 Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council of the Ukraine, then Deputy Chief of the Political Department of the 12th Army. During 1920-21 member of the Soviet delegation to the peace negotiations in Poland. During 1923-25 Secretary of the C.C., C.P.(B.) of the Ukraine. From 1925 onwards Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council, the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R. and held other posts.—237

L

Labourbe, Jeanne (1879-1919)—daughter of a Paris Communard. In 1896 she came to Russia, where she worked as a teacher. In 1917 started to

do Party work in the Moscow organisation of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.). In 1918 organised in Moscow a French Communist Group. In February 1919 engaged in underground work in Odessa among the troops of intervention; edited the newspaper *Le Communiste* published for the French soldiers and sailors. In March 1919 arrested by the French intelligence service and shot.—136

Lacis, Martin (*Sudrabs, Janis*) (1888-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. After the October Revolution a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, then member of the Board of the Vecheka. From 1921 onwards held Party, administrative and business posts.—245

Lander, Karl Ivanovich (1884-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. In May 1918 People's Commissar for State Control of the R.S.F.S.R.—190, 442

Lansbury, George (1859-1940)—a leader of the British Labour Party. Editor of The Daily Herald from 1912 to 1922.—351

Lao Hsiu-chao (*Liu-Tse-fung*) (b. 1892)—Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Chinese Workers in Russia; enjoyed extra-territorial rights in the R.S.F.S.R. as authorised representative of Chinese citizens and workers in Russia whose interests he defended. He was a delegate to the First and Second Congresses of the Comintern.—413

Larin, Y. (*Lourie, Mikhail Alexandrovich*) (1882-1932)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik. In August 1917 admitted to membership of the Bolshevik Party. After the October Revolution held administrative and business posts; during 1919-20 represented the Supreme Economic Council on the Supreme Council for Transport.—72, 85, 98-99, 120, 335

Lashevich, Mikhail Mlkhailovich (1884-1928)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. From November 1918 to March 1919 Commander of the 3rd Army, then member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the Eastern and Southern fronts.—172, 231, 243, 245, 249, 251, 252, 256, 258, 270, 275, 281, 286

Latukka, Juho (1884-1925)—Finnish journalist, member of the Finnish Social-Democratic Party, which he joined in 1904; subsequently a Communist. After the defeat of the workers' revolution in Finland (1918) he lived in Leningrad.—136

Lebedev, Semyon Ivanovich—Chairman of the Temnikov Soviet, Tambov Gubernia, in 1918.—110

Legien, Karl (1861-1920)—German Right-wing Social-Democrat, a trade union leader.—107

Leiteisen, Moris Gavriovich (1897-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. Took part in the October Revolution. In 1918 a member of the Soviet Mission in Switzerland, afterwards sent to Stockholm. At the end of 1918, on his way to Moscow, he was arrested in Finland on suspicion of carrying on revolutionary propaganda; released in 1919 on the demand of the Soviet Government. Up to 1923 worked in the People's Commissar-

iat for Foreign Affairs, later engaged in scientific research.—154

Lenin (*Ulyanov*), *Vladimir Ilyich* (1870-1924).—48, 51, 58, 136, 153, 155-56, 162, 197, 276, 283, 285, 292, 326, 351, 371, 378, 397-98, 400, 401, 403, 405, 443

Lentsman, *Jan Davidovich* (1881-1944)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1899. After the February 1917 revolution a member of the C.C. and the Riga Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of the Lettish region and member of the Soviet. In 1919 Deputy Chairman and Commissar for Internal Affairs of the Soviet Government of Latvia, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 15th Army then Chief of the Registration Department of the R.M.C. of the Republic.—266

Lepeshinsky, *Panteleimon Nikolayevich* (1868-1944)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in the early nineties. Active participant in the February and October revolutions. After the victory of Soviet power a member of the Board of the R.S.F.S.R. People's Commissariat for Education, afterwards Deputy People's Commissar for Education of Turkestan.—318

Leshchenko, *D. I.* (1876-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1900. Worked on the editorial staffs of the newspapers *Zvezda* and *Pravda*. From 1918 onwards Secretary of the People's Commissariat for Education, Manager of the All-Russia Cinema Committee and held other posts.—386

Lezhava, *Andrei Matveyevich* (1870-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. During 1918-20 Chairman of Centrosoyuz; from 1920 to 1925 Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade.—389, 429, 433, 451, 454, 456

Lianozov, *S. G.*—owner of oilfields; after the October Revolution fled the country. Played a prominent part among the White émigrés resident in the Baltic region in 1919. Headed the "Government of the Russian North-Western Region" which was set up in August 1919 by General March head of the British Mission in Estonia, and which existed several months.—285

Liebknecht, *Karl* (1871-1919)—an outstanding leader of the German and international workers' movement; a leader of the Left wing of German Social-Democracy, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Germany and leader of the uprising of the Berlin workers in January 1919. After the suppression of the uprising he was brutally murdered.—107, 154, 196, 360

Litvinov, *Maxim Maximovich* (1876-1951)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. After the October Revolution Soviet representative in Great Britain. In 1918 appointed member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. In 1921 became Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. From 1930 to 1939 P.C. for Foreign Affairs; subsequently Deputy P.C. for Foreign Affairs and Ambassador in the U.S.A.—153, 224, 326

Lloyd George, *David* (1863-1945)—British statesman and diplomat, leader of the Liberal Party. From 1916 to 1922

Prime Minister. Engineered military intervention against the Soviet state.—224, 225, 386, 421

Lobova, *V. N.* (1888-1924)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. During 1920-21 engaged in Party work in Moscow, Perm and Samara; afterwards worked in the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee and in Siberia.—346

Lomonosov, *Yuri Vladimirovich* (b. 1876)—in 1919 a member of the Boards of the Supreme Economic Council and the Commissariat for Railways, authorised agent of the Council of People's Commissars abroad where he handled Soviet railway orders.—321, 348, 354, 456

Lomov, A. (*Oppokov*, *Georgi Ippolitovich*) (1888-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. From 1918 to 1921 a member of the Board and Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council in charge of fuel supply.—287, 352, 355

Longuet, *Jean* (1876-1938)—a leader of the French Socialist Party and the Second International, publicist. Was opposed to the French Socialist Party becoming affiliated to the Comintern and to the establishment of a Communist Party in France.—154

Loriot, *Ferdinand* (1870-1930)—French socialist. From 1920 to 1927 a member of the French Communist Party.—44

Loti, *Pierre* (1850-1923)—French bourgeois writer.—154

Luganovsky (*Portugeis*), *Emmanuil Viktorovich* (1885-1940)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. From December 1917 to May 1918 a member of the Soviet Government of the Ukraine. In October 1918 authorised agent of the People's Commissariat for Food of the R.S.F.S.R.; during 1919-21 worked in the Council of Labour and Defence and the Supreme Economic Council.—64

Lunacharsky, *Anatoly Vasilievich* (1875-1933)—joined the revolutionary movement in the early nineties. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) a Bolshevik. After the October Revolution up to 1929 People's Commissar for Education. In 1919 authorised agent of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee for combating desertion in Kostroma.—229, 366, 369, 392

Luteraan, *Barend* (b. 1878)—Dutch Social-Democrat, journalist. Later a member of the Independent Socialist Party and then the Communist Workers' Party of the Netherlands.—58

Lutovinov, *Yuri Khrisanfovich* (1887-1924)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. After the October Revolution an active participant in the Civil War on the Don and in the Ukraine. In 1918 a member of the C.C., C.P.(B.) of the Ukraine. Later engaged in trade union and administrative work. In 1920 became a member of the C.C. of the Metalworkers' Union and of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.—226

Luxemburg, *Rosa* (*Junius*) (1871-1919)—an outstanding leader of the Polish and German workers' movement, a leader of the Left wing of the Second International. Was one of the sponsors of the Internationale Group in Germany,

which afterwards assumed the name of Spartacus group, then Spartacus League. During the November revolution in Germany in 1918 was one of the leaders of the revolutionary vanguard of the German workers. Took a leading part in the Inaugural Congress of the German Communist Party. In January 1919 she was arrested and brutally murdered.—106, 154, 196

Lyubarsky, Nikolai Markovich (1887-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1906. From 1918 to 1923 in the diplomatic service, a member of the Board of the Department of Soviet Propaganda of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.—326

M

Makhno, Nester Ivanovich (1884-1934)—leader of anarchist-kulak detachments in the Ukraine. He and his followers posed as champions of the peasants' interests in order to win over the peasant masses. Makhno accommodated himself to the changing political and military situation, conducting military operations now against the whiteguards, now against the Red Army (in the summer of 1918 he carried on for a time a partisan struggle against the landowners, German occupationists and the Hetman). During the first half of 1919, with the re-establishment of Soviet power in the Ukraine, Makhno took a sharply hostile stand towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the spring of 1921 the Makhno bands were routed by the Soviet troops.—213

Malinovsky, P. P. (1869-1943)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. After the October Revolution Chairman of the Commission of the Moscow Soviet for the Protection of Monuments of Art and Ancient Buildings, Civil Commissar of the Kremlin. In March 1918 Acting People's Commissar for the Properties of the Republic.—82

Malyshev, Sergei Vasilievich (1877-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. After the October Revolution worked in the People's Commissariat for Labour, the Food Commissariat, Centrosoyuz and other institutions.—132, 263

Mamontov, Konstantin Konstantinovich (1869-1920)—whiteguard general, commander of a cavalry corps in the armies of Krasnov and Denikin. In August 1919 Mamontov's corps was sent by Denikin to operate behind the lines of the Soviet troops on the Southern Front. In the course of October-November 1919 Mamontov was routed.—279

Mann, Tom (1856-1941)—a prominent leader of the British labour movement. In the 1890s one of the organisers and secretary of the Independent Labour Party. One of the sponsors of the Communist Party of Great Britain.—44

Manner, Kullervo (b. 1880)—during 1917-18 Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of Finland. From 1910 to 1918 a member of the Finnish parliament. During the workers' revolution in Finland in 1918 headed the revolutionary government.—59, 63

Mantsev, Vasily Nikolayevich (1888-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1906. From 1918 onwards held Party and administrative posts in Moscow. In 1919 he was sent to work in the Ukraine; member of the Board of the Vecheka, Chief of the Central Board of the Cheka, simultaneously Chief of the Special Department of the South-Western and Southern fronts (Crimea).—425

Manuilsky, Dmitry Zakharovich (1883-1959)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. In 1918, after the signing of the Brest Treaty, took part in the peace talks with the Ukrainian Central Rada. In 1919 headed the Mission of the R.S.F.S.R. Red Cross in France. From 1920 to 1922 People's Commissar for Agriculture of the Ukrainian S.S.R., Secretary of the C.C. C.P.(B.) of the Ukraine.—205 343-44, 446

Manukhin, I. I. (b. 1882)—physician, treated Maxim Gorky. Engaged in research in the field of therapy.—359

Marchlewski, Julian (1866-1925)—a prominent leader of the Polish and international workers' movement. In 1918 he came to Soviet Russia; was elected to the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. Carried out a number of important diplomatic missions, took part in the negotiations with Poland, Lithuania, Finland, Japan and China.—281, 399, 410

Maria Ilyinichna—see *Ulyanova, M. I.*

Markov, Sergei Dmitrievich (1880-1922)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. At the end of 1918 a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Railways; in 1919 became Deputy People's Commissar for Railways. In 1920 Superintendent of the Vladikavkaz Railway, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Caucasian Front.—274, 279, 297, 305, 333

Martinovich, Ksenofont Filippovich (b. 1894)—joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1918. Was a member of the Board of the Crimean Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (1918-20); in 1919 Chief Controller of the Southern Front, later worked in the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the U.S.S.R.—282

Martov, L. (*Tsederbaum, Yuli Osipovich*) (1873-1923)—a leader of Menshevism. Joined the Social-Democratic movement in the 1890s. In 1895 took part in organising the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) he led the Minority (the Mensheviks), and since then was one of the leaders of the central bodies of the Mensheviks and editor of the Menshevik publications. In 1920 a member of the Moscow Soviet. Subsequently emigrated to Germany.—155, 350

Marx, Karl (1818-1883).—219

Mashitsky, Alexander Alexandrovich—joined the revolutionary movement in 1883, a member of the Bolshevik Party since 1914. Participant in the October Revolution. From 1918 to 1932 assistant authorised agent of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in Byelorussia, Lithuania and the Ukraine; a member of the Board of the Department of

Foreign Relations of the Turkestan Commission; afterwards in the diplomatic service abroad.—362

Maximov, Konstantin Gordeyevich (1894-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1914. In 1917 a member of the Moscow Committee of the Party. After the October Revolution head of the Food Department of the Moscow Soviet. Participant in the Civil War as member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Eastern Front. In 1920 became Chairman of the Industrial Bureau of the Supreme Economic Council in the Urals authorised agent of the Council of Labour and Defence for rehabilitating the Urals industry, Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council of the Ukraine, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian S.S.R., member of the Board of the Supreme Economic Council of the U.S.S.R., member of the Presidiums of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Ukrainian C.E.C., and the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R.—339

Medvedev, S. P. (1885-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1900. After the October Revolution held political posts in the Red Army. During 1920-22 Chairman of the C.C. of the Metalworkers' Union; afterwards worked in the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R.—138, 264

Medyantsev, I. F. (b. 1889)—Secretary for Special Commissions to E. M. Sklyansky Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic.—256

Mekhonoshin, Konstantin Alexandrovich (1889-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1913. During the October (1917) days a member of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee. In December 1917 appointed Deputy People's Commissar for Military Affairs. From January 1918 a member of the All-Russia Board for Forming the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, then member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the Eastern, Southern and Caspian-Caucasian fronts and of the R.M.C. of the Republic.—54, 114, 122, 217

Melnichansky, Grigory Natanovich (1886-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. During the October days (1917) a member of the Moscow Military Revolutionary Committee. After the October Revolution Chairman of the Moscow Gubernia Council of Trade Unions. From 1918 to 1920 represented the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions on the Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defence.—240, 250

Menzhinsky, Vladimir Rudolfovich (1874-1934)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. After the October Revolution People's Commissar for Finance, then Consul-General of the R.S.F.S.R. in Berlin; in 1919 began work in the Vecheka.—90

Merezhin, Abram Naumovich (b. 1880)—from 1905 to 1916 a Menshevik, then a member of the Bund. Joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1919. Was a member of the Central Bureau of Jewish Sections under the C.C., R.C.P.(B.), worked in the People's Commissariat for Nationalities.—390

Meshcheryakov, *V. N.* (1885-1946)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. In 1918 a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture of the R.S.F.S.R., then People's Commissar for Agriculture of the Ukraine; afterwards held posts in the Commissariat for Education, the Chief Department of Political Education and other bodies.—84, 263

Metelev, *Alexander Denisovich* (1893-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1912. From June to August 1918 a member of the Archangel Gubernia Executive Committee, afterwards held a political post in the 6th Army, a member of the Penza Gubernia Executive Committee.—126

Mezhlauk, *Valery Ivanovich* (1893-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. During 1918-20 Deputy People's Commissar for Finance of the Ukraine, People's Commissar for Finance of the Donets-Krivoi Rog Republic, Gubernia Military Commissar of Kazan, member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the 5th, 10th, 14th and 2nd armies, member of the R.M.C. of the Southern Front, People's Commissar for Military Affairs of the Ukraine. From 1920 to 1924 Commissar of the Moscow-Baltic, Moscow-Kursk and Northern railways, Deputy Chief Commissar for Railways member of the Board of the Commissariat for Railways.—71, 226, 232, 237, 238, 240, 247

Mickiewicz-Kapsukas, *Vikenty Semyonovich* (*Vincas Mickjewichus-Kapsukas*) (1880-1935)—from December 1917 onwards Soviet Government Commissar for Lithuanian Affairs. As a member of the Central Bureau of Lithuanian Sections under the C.C., R.S.D.L.P.(B.) took part in organising the Communist Party of Lithuania, was a member of its C.C. At the end of 1918 and beginning of 1919 was head of the first Soviet Government of Lithuania.—421-22

Milyutin, *Vladimir Pavlovich* (1884-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1910. During 1918-21 Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council.—72, 268, 287, 292, 313, 382, 456

Minin, *S. K.* (1882-1962)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. During the Civil War a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 10th Army member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs. In 1919, on a special assignment from Lenin, visited Tula, Byelorussia and Lithuania. During 1920-21 a member of the R.M.C. of the First Mounted Army.—210

Minkin, *A. Y.* (1887-1955)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. After the October Revolution Secretary of the Penza Gubernia Committee of the Party Chairman of the Gubernia Executive Committee, Commissar of the Goznak factory at Perm, Secretary of the Perm Gubernia Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Gubernia Executive Committee.—106, 129, 134, 140, 346

Mirbach, *Wilhelm* (1871-1918)—in April 1918 appointed German Ambassador in Moscow. On July 6, 1918, he was assassinated by the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries with the aim of provoking war between

Germany and Soviet Russia.—80, 114

Mitskevich, Valentin Sergeyevich (1900-1948)—from the autumn of 1918 to May 1919 worked as Lenin's librarian.—220

Moor, Karl (b. 1853)—German Social-Democrat. During the First World War gave assistance to political emigrants in Switzerland. After the October Revolution lived in Moscow.—168

Morozov, Mikhail Vladimirovich (1868-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. After the October Revolution worked in the Chief Fuel Committee and peat industry.—456

Movshovich, Maria (1874-1953)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. In 1911 emigrated to Switzerland; in 1917 returned to Russia. Fought in the Civil War. From 1919 onwards engaged in Party work in Moscow.—323

Mukhin, N.—in 1918 a member of the staff of the Chief Oil Committee.—151

Muralov, Nikolai Ivanovich (1877-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. During the October Revolution a member of the Moscow Military Revolutionary Committee and of the Revolutionary Headquarters. Afterwards Commander of the troops of the Moscow Military District. During 1919-20 a member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the Eastern Front and the 3rd and 12th armies.—56, 154, 250

Muranov, Matvei Konstantinovich (1873-1959)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. Deputy to the Fourth Duma, a member of the Bolshevik parliamentary group. After the October Revolution Inspector of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) and member of the Party's Control Commission.—455

Muravyov, M. A. (1880-1918)—officer in the tsarist army. After the October Revolution sided with the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries. At the beginning of 1918 commanded the troops operating against the Ukrainian Central Rada and against Kaledin. In July 1918, acting as Commander of the troops of the Eastern Front, he betrayed the Soviet government and attempted to raise a revolt among the troops. Offered resistance during his arrest and was killed.—70, 114

Murphy, John Thomas (b. 1888)—a leader of the British labour movement, joined the Socialist Party of Scotland in 1917. In 1920 elected delegate of the Shop Stewards Committees to the Second Congress of the Comintern. Took part in organising the Communist Party of Great Britain; from 1921 a member of its Central Committee and one of the organisers of the Profintern Bureau in Britain.—399

Muss, E. R.—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. In 1919 Chairman of the Samara Gubernia Food Committee.—332

Myaskov, Konstantin Gavrilovich (1881-1958)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1912. After the October Revolution Food Commissar in Samara, then Chairman of the Russian Agricultural Bank, member of the Presidium of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, and of the Board of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R., member of the staff of the C.C., C.P.S.U.—332

Myshkin, *P. P.* (1887-c.1924)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. During 1917-18 a member of the Tsaritsyn Soviet, then of the Tsaritsyn Executive Committee. In 1919 Chairman of the Tsaritsyn Extraordinary Commission.—200

N

Nadezhda Konstantinovna—see *Krupskaya, N. K.*

Naglovsky, *Alexander Dmitrievich*—in 1919 a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Railways, authorised agent of the Council of Defence for introducing martial law on the railways of the Northern Front, Chairman of the Commission for the Evacuation of Property from Petrograd.—297

Nansen, *Fridtjof* (1861-1930)—distinguished Norwegian scientist, arctic explorer, well-known public figure. After the First World War he was High Commissioner of the League of Nations for the repatriation of prisoners of war.—224, 226

Narimanov, *Nariman Kerbalai Najaf-ogly* (1871-1925)—Soviet statesman, author. In 1917 a prominent fighter for Soviet power in Azerbaijan. In 1918 became People's Commissar for Mining in the Baku Council of People's Commissars. In 1919 started work in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, then Deputy People's Commissar for Nationalities, Chairman of the Azerbaijan Revolutionary Committee, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Azerbaijan, then one of the chairmen of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.—367

Natsarenus, *Sergei Pavlovich* (1883-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. In 1918 Military Commissar Extraordinary of the Murmansk-White Sea Region, then of the Petrograd Military District. Was a member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the 7th, 14th and 15th armies. In July 1919 appointed Military Commissar of the Kharkov Military District.—114, 120. 128, 246, 247, 249

Nazarov, *Stepan Ivanovich* (1879-1944)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. After the October Revolution Chairman of the Chief Cotton Committee, member of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia Committee of the Party and Gubernia Executive Committee, authorised agent of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 9th Army and Commissar of Army Staff.—302

Nevsky, *Vladimir Ivanovich* (1876-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. After the October Revolution People's Commissar for Railways, Deputy Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, Rector of the Sverdlov Communist University.—56, 126, 179, 198, 257

Nikolayev, *Akim Maximovich* (1887-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. During 1918-24 a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs, Chairman of the Radio Council.—394, 399, 447

Nikulina, *Nadezhda Alexeyevna* (1845-1923)—well-known comedy actress of the Maly Theatre (Moscow) (1863-1914).—427

O

Obolensky, V. V.—see *Osinsky, N.*
Obukh, Vladimir Alexandrovich (1870-1934)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1894; physician, leading worker of the Soviet public health service. During 1919-23 head of the Moscow Health Department. Attended Lenin during his illness.—384-85
Odintsov, Sergei Ivanovich (b. 1874)—in April 1917 appointed Commander of the 3rd Caucasian Cossack Division. In 1918 Manager of the General Office of the People's Commissariat for Military Affairs.—45
Okulov, Alexei Ivanovich (1880-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903; author. During the Civil War a member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the Southern and Western fronts and of the 10th Army. In December 1918 appointed member of the R.M.C. of the Republic. During 1920-21 Commander of the troops of Eastern Siberia and member of the Revolutionary Military Tribunal.—242, 246
Olderogge, V. A. (b. 1873)—general in the tsarist army. Joined the Red Army and in 1919 commanded the Eastern Front; was Chief of the Military Branch of the West-Siberian Military District, then Chief of the Military Branch of the Kiev Military District.—286
Orjonikidze, Grigory Konstantinovich (*Sergo*) (1886-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. After the October Revolution he was Commissar Extraordinary in the Ukraine, then in the south of Russia. During the Civil War a member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the 16th and 14th armies, and of the Caucasian Front. During 1921-26 Chairman of the Caucasian Bureau of the C.C. In 1926 became Chairman of the Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U. and People's Commissar for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the U.S.S.R. In 1930 Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Economic Council, and in 1932 People's Commissar for Heavy Industry of the U.S.S.R.—56, 57, 70, 71, 185, 264, 341, 352, 367, 374-75, 381, 395-96, 420, 423, 426
Orlov (*Yegorov*), *Kirill Nikitovich* (1879-1943)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. During 1917-18 Chairman of the All-Russia Board for Arming the Red Army. From August 1918 to December 1919 Political Commissar Extraordinary of the Tula small arms and cartridge factories and ordnance depot.—204
Osinsky, N. (*Obolensky, V. V.*) (1887-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1907. After the October Revolution Manager of the State Bank of the R.S.F.S.R., Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council. In 1918 a "Left Communist". In 1920 Chairman of the Tula Gubernia Executive Committee member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Food.—50, 62-63, 278

P

Paikes, A. K. (1873-1958)—joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1918. During 1918-20 worked in Si-

beria as member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for State Control and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, Deputy People's Commissar for State Control and member of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee.—139, 142, 315

Palchinsky, *Pyotr Ioakimovich* (d. 1930)—engineer; after the February 1917 revolution Deputy Minister for Trade and Industry in the bourgeois Provisional Government. After the October Revolution organised acts of sabotage in Soviet industry.—168

Palinski, *S.* (1874-1921)—a leader of the Polish workers' movement, member of the Polish Socialist Party. During 1917-18 worked as shop superintendent at the Berezniki Soda Works, then returned to Poland.—118

Panyushkin, *Vasily Lukich* (1888-1960)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1907. In April 1918 appointed Military Commissar Extraordinary in Tula Gubernia for combating counter-revolution; commanded detachments of armed workers and sailors, was at the Eastern Front, then appointed Military Commissar Extraordinary of the Volga region and the Urals for combating counter-revolution.—99, 111, 124, 208

Parvus (*Gelfand*, *Alexander Lazarevich*) (1869-1924)—at the turn of the century took part in the Social-Democratic movement of Russia and Germany. Afterwards withdrew from the S.D. movement, and during the First World War engaged in speculation and made a fortune on war contracts.—46, 47

Pavlov, *Ivan Petrovich* (1849-1936)—eminent Russian physiologist.—392

Peluso, *Edmondo* (1882-1942)—Italian socialist. During 1918-19 a member of the Spartacus League, later of the Communist Party of Bavaria. In 1921 joined the Italian Communist Party.—154

Pershikova, *V. V.*—member of the staff of the Tsaritsyn Housing Department in 1919.—201

Peters, *Jan Khristoforovich* (1886-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. In 1917 elected to the C.C. of the Lettish Social-Democratic Party. During the October days a member of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee, then member of the Board of the Vecheka and Deputy Chairman of the Vecheka. From 1919 to 1920 Commandant of the Petrograd and Kiev Fortified Areas and member of the Military Council of the Tula Fortified Area. In 1920 a member of the Turkestan Bureau of the C.C.—49, 305, 351

Peterson, *K. A.* (1877-1926)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. During the October Revolution a member of the Military Revolutionary Committee, then member of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and of the Revolutionary Tribunal under the C.E.C., Military Commissar of the Lettish Rifle Division. In December 1918 appointed People's Commissar for Military Affairs in Soviet Latvia.—266, 303

Petrovsky, *Grigory Ivanovich* (1878-1958)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1897. Deputy to the Fourth Duma, member of the Bolshevik parliamentary

group. During 1917-19 People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R. From 1919 to 1938 Chairman of the All-Ukraine Central Executive Committee, after the formation of the U.S.S.R., Deputy Chairman of the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R., Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.—110, 173, 194, 202

Petruchuk, *Demyan Timofeyevich* (b. 1890)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. In 1918 appointed Commissioner in Orsha of the Moscow District Commissariat for Military Affairs for expediting the dispatch of Red Army units to the Eastern Front. In 1919 appointed Commissar of the Special Moscow Commission for Supplying Horses to the Red Army.—130

Pichon, *Stephen Jean Marie* (1857-1933)—French Foreign Minister during 1917-20.—205

Plaksin, *Kirill Ivanovich* (1881-1933)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. In 1917 a member of the Saratov Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.), delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Party. After the October Revolution held Party, administrative and business posts in Saratov and Ivanovo.—263

Platten, *Friedrich* (1883-1942)—Swiss Communist, from 1912 to 1918 Secretary of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party. In 1919 took part in organising the Communist International, a member of the Comintern Bureau. Contributed to the journal The Communist International. Was one of the organisers of the Swiss Communist Party.—433

Podbelsky, *Vadim Nikolayevich* (1887-1920)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. In October 1917 Commissar for Posts and Telegraphs of Moscow and Moscow Region. In May 1918 appointed People's Commissar for Posts and Telegraphs of the R.S.F.S.R.—67, 102, 193, 249

Podvoisky, *Nikolai Ilyich* (1880-1948)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. Preparatory to and during the October armed uprising Chairman of the Military Revolutionary Committee in Petrograd. After the October Revolution a member of the Committee for Military and Naval Affairs, Commander of the Petrograd Military District. In 1919 appointed People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs of the Ukraine.—58, 64 117, 119, 213, 223, 226, 237, 258, 263-64

Pokrovsky, *Mikhail Nikolayevich* (1868-1932)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905; historian. From November 1917 to March 1918 Chairman of the Moscow Soviet. In 1918 appointed Deputy People's Commissar for Education of the R.S.F.S.R.—331, 349, 359, 419, 451

Popov, *Pavel Ilyich* (1872-1950)—in 1918 appointed head of the Central Statistical Board.—127, 268, 382, 459

Popova (*Kasparova*), *Yevgenia Minasovna* (1888-1963)—during 1918-22 worked as Manager of the Housing Department of the All-Russia C.E.C.—310

Popovitsky, *N. A.* (b. 1885)—member of the staff of the Supreme Economic Council; up to July 1918 Left Socialist-Revolutionary, then joined the R.C.P.(B.).—116

Potyaev, *A. I.* (b. 1888)—in 1918 Deputy People's Commis-

sar for Finance. During the Civil War member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Western Front (1919).—298

Pozern, *Boris Pavlovich* (1882-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. During 1918-19 Staff Commissar of the Petrograd Military District, then member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the Western and Eastern fronts and of the 5th Army. After the Civil War Chairman of the Chief Textile Committee, Secretary of the South-Eastern Territory Committee of the C.P.S.U., Rector of the Leningrad Communist University Secretary of the Leningrad Regional Committee of the Party. Member of the All-Russia C.E.C. and the U.S.S.R. Central Executive Committee.—242, 298

Pravdin, *Alexander Grigorievich* (1879-1943)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1899. After the October Revolution Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, then Deputy People's Commissar for Railways and held other administrative and Party posts.—109

Preobrazhensky, *Alexei Andreyevich* (1863-1938)—from 1902 onwards worked on the Samara-Zlatoust Railway; in 1918 Manager of the General Office, in 1919 Business Manager and then head of the Administrative Service of the railway. In 1922 appointed Manager of the Gorki State Farm.—440

Preobrazhensky, *Yevgeny Alexeyevich* (1886-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. After the February 1917 revolution worked in the Urals. From 1918 carried on Party work and political work in the army. In 1920 one of the secretaries of the Party's C.C.—333, 340, 423, 455

Prokofiev, *Andrei Nikitovich* (1886-1949)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. In 1918 Secretary of the Extraordinary Commission in Rodniki, Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia.—177, 180

Prokopiev.—85

Prominsky, *Ivan Lukich* (1859-1923)—joined the Polish Social-Democratic movement in the 1880s. In 1894 arrested and in 1897 exiled to the village of Shushenskoye in Eastern Siberia, where he met Lenin and Krupskaya and became close friends with them. After his term of exile he worked on the railway in Siberia. Fought in the Civil War.—385, 406

Putintsev, *Ilya Danilovich*—Bolshevik, a Cossack from Urmorunskaya stanitsa, Pavlodar Uyezd, Semipalatinsk Gubernia.—393

Pyatakov, *Georgi Leonidovich* (1890-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1910. Did Party work in the Ukraine and abroad. During 1915-17 took an anti-Leninist stand on the question of the right of nations to self-determination and on other important issues of Party policy. After the February 1917 revolution Chairman of the Kiev Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.). After the October Revolution a member of the Soviet Government of the Ukraine. From 1920 onwards held business and administrative posts. Repeatedly came out against the Party's Leninist policy. Expelled from the Party for anti-Party activities.—237, 369-70

R

Radchenko, *Ivan Ivanovich* (1874-1942)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. One of the organisers of the U.S.S.R. peat industry. In 1920 worked in the Chief Peat Committee.—456

Radek, *Karl Bernhardovich* (1885-1939)—joined the Bolshevik Party in 1917. After the October Revolution worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, was Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. From 1923 a leader of the Trotsky opposition. In 1936 expelled from the Party for anti-Party activities.—57, 91, 360, 400, 418-19, 420

Radus-Zenkovich, *Viktor Alexeyevich* (1877-1967)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. During 1918-21 Manager of the Social Insurance and Labour Protection Department, then Deputy People's Commissar for Labour of the R.S.F.S.R., Chairman of the Saratov Gubernia Executive Committee, Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Kirghizia.—263

Rafes, *Moisei Grigorievich* (1883-1942)—Bundist. After the February 1917 revolution a member of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. Afterwards worked in the Ukraine. Headed the Left wing of the Bund. In the summer of 1919 joined the R.C.P.(B.). Was a commissar in the Red Army.—390

Rahja, *Eino A.* (1886-1936)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. Participant in the revolutionary movement in Russia and Finland. During the July days of 1917 helped to arrange Lenin's passage to Finland to escape persecution by the bourgeois Provisional Government, and back again to Russia in October. In 1918 commanded detachments of the Red Guard during the workers' revolution in Finland.—54

Rakovsky, *Khristian Georgievich* (1873-1941)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. In 1918 Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine, then an active member of the Trotsky opposition; in 1938 expelled from the Party for anti-Party activities.—211-12, 219, 223, 233, 235, 236-37, 252, 258, 263, 265, 271, 344, 357, 361, 372

Raskolnikov, *Fyodor Fyodorovich* (1892-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1910. After the October Revolution Deputy People's Commissar for Naval Affairs, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic and of the R.M.C. of the Eastern Front, Commander of the Volga-Caspian Flotilla and the Baltic Fleet.—122, 133, 347, 357

Ratnikov, *I. Y.* (b. 1893)—during 1917-20 Secretary of the Karabanovo District Committee of the R.C.P.(B.), Alexandrov Uyezd, Vladimir Region.—455

Rattel, *Nikolai Iosifovich* (b. 1875)—general in the tsarist army, who sided with the Soviets after the October Revolution. From November 1917 to 1925 Chief of All-Russia General Headquarters.—239

Ravich, *Sophia* (1879-1957)—in 1917 a member of the Petrograd Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. (B.). After the October Revolution engaged in Party and administrative work.—186

Reich, *Yakov Samoilovich* (b. 1886)—in 1918 editor of *Russische Nachrichtung*, information bulletin of the Soviet Mission in Berne. In 1919 worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. From the autumn of 1919 to April 1925 Manager of the Comintern publishing office in Berlin.—326

Robins, *Raymond* (b. 1873)—in 1917 a member of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia.—82, 87

Rodzyanko, *Mikhail Vladimirovich* (1859-1924)—big landowner, monarchist, a leader of the Octobrist Party (the Union of October Seventeen). After the October Revolution fled to Denikin; attempted to unite all the counter-revolutionary forces against the Soviet government.—285

Rogachov.—243

Romanov, *Pavel Alexandrovich* (b. 1884)—in 1920 Secretary of the Alexandrov Uyezd Executive Committee, Vladimir Region.—455

Rothstein, *Theodore* (1871-1953)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. In 1890 emigrated from Russia. Took an active part in the British labour movement and in the founding of the Communist Party of Great Britain (1920). Contributed to the Russian and foreign socialist press. In 1920 returned to Russia. From 1921 to 1930 in the diplomatic service.—304, 326, 403

Rozengolts, *Arkady Pavlovich* (1889-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. During the October Revolution a member of the Moscow Military Revolutionary Committee. During the Civil War a member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of a number of armies and fronts; afterwards held military, diplomatic and administrative posts; in 1922, a member of the Board of the Commissariat for Finance. In 1937 expelled from the Party for anti-Party activities.—358

Rudakov, *Ivan Grigorievich* (1883-1937)—in 1919 a member of the Economic Council of the Northern district. In 1920 Chief of the Petrograd Fuel Department.—430

Rudzutak, *Jan Ernestovich* (1887-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. After the October Revolution engaged in trade union work, then member of the Board of the Supreme Economic Council. In 1919 member of the Turkestan Commission. In 1920 became member of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.), member of the Presidium and General Secretary of the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions. During 1921-24 Chairman of the Central Asia Bureau of the R.C.P.(B.). From 1924 to 1930 People's Commissar for Railways. In 1932 appointed Chairman of the Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U. and People's Commissar for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the U.S.S.R.—222, 315, 362

Rühle, *Otto* (b. 1874)—German Left Social-Democrat, publicist. In 1919 joined the Communist Party of Germany.—107

Rutgers, *Sebald* (1879-1961)—Dutch engineer, Communist. Worked in the Soviet Union at intervals, from 1918 to 1938.—326

Rybakov, *Ivan Yakovlevich* (1891-1938)—joined the

R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. In 1920 Chairman of the Alexandrov Uyezd Executive Committee, Vladimir Region.—455

Rykov, *Alexei Ivanovich* (1881-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1899. After the October Revolution People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labour and Defence, special agent of the C.L.D. for the supply of the Red Army and Navy. Was Chairman of the C.P.C. of the U.S.S.R. and the R.S.F.S.R. and a member of the Politbureau of the C.C. Came out repeatedly against the Party's Leninist policy. Expelled from the Party for anti-Party activities.—66-67, 81, 89, 294, 299, 335, 363-64, 371, 429, 442, 453, 456-58

S

Samoilov, *Fyodor Nikitich* (1882-1952)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. Deputy to the Fourth Duma from the workers of Vladimir Gubernia, member of the Bolshevik parliamentary group. During 1919-20 authorised agent of the Central Executive Committee on the Bashkir Military Revolutionary Committee, member of the Bashkir Regional Committee of the R.C.P.(B.).—333

Sanayev, *Mikhail Ivanovich* (1894-1938)—from May 1918 to March 1919 Chairman of the Sergach Uyezd Committee of the R.C.P.(B.), Nizhni-Novgorod Gubernia, and member of the Uyezd Executive Committee.—149

Sapozhnikov, *Alexei V.* (1868-1935)—scientist, chemist.—359

Sapronov, *T. V.* (1887-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1912. After the October Revolution Chairman of the Moscow Gubernia Executive Committee Chairman of the Kharkov Gubernia Revolutionary Committee. Subsequently Secretary of the Urals Bureau of the C.C., Chairman of the Narrow Council of People's Commissars, member of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. Came out repeatedly against the Party's Leninist policy. In 1927, at the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., expelled from the Party for anti-Party activities.—82, 322, 343

Scheinman, *Aron Lvovich* (b. 1886)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. Deputy People's Commissar for Home and Foreign Trade, member of the Board of the State Bank of the R.S.F.S.R. and Chairman of the Board of the State Bank of the U.S.S.R., Deputy People's Commissar for Finance of the U.S.S.R .—389

Schlichter, *Alexander Grigorievich* (1868-1940)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1891. After the October Revolution People's Commissar for Agriculture, P.C. for Food of the R.S.F.S.R., Commissar Extraordinary for Food in Siberia, Chairman of the Tambov Gubernia Executive Committee. In 1919 P.C. for Food of the Ukraine.—56, 109, 141, 199, 252, 258, 450

Schmidt, *Vasily Vladimirovich* (1886-1940)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. During 1918-28 Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions, then People's Commissar for Labour.—202, 402

Selivachov, Vladimir Ivanovich (1866-1919)—officer in the tsarist army, afterwards served in the Red Army. In 1919 Assistant Commander of the Southern Front.—286

Semashko, Nikolai Alexandrovich (1874-1949)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1893. After the October Revolution Manager of the Medical and Sanitary Department of the Moscow Soviet. During 1918-30 People's Commissar for Health of the R.S.F.S.R.—212, 293, 304, 312-13, 333, 359, 372, 436, 460-61

Serafimovich (*Popov*), *Alexander Serafimovich* (*X*) (1863-1949)—Soviet writer, joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1918. After the October Revolution a member of the editorial board of *Izvestia* of the Moscow Soviet, during the Civil War he was a war correspondent of *Pravda*.—426

Serebryakov, Leonid Petrovich (1888-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. After the October Revolution member of the Moscow Regional Committee of the Party, Secretary of the Party's C.C. and Secretary of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Southern Front.—230, 246, 265, 270, 281, 286

Sereda, Semyon Pafnutievich (1871-1933)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. After the October Revolution People's Commissar for Agriculture of the R.S.F.S.R. (1918-21), then member of the Board of the Supreme Economic Council and of the State Planning Commission, Deputy Manager and Manager of the Central Statistical Board of the R.S.F.S.R.—75, 84, 119, 132, 133, 142, 143, 146, 178, 207, 230, 270, 330, 340, 391, 450

Sergo—see *Orjonikidze, G. K.*

Serrati, Giacinto Menotti (1872-1926)—a prominent leader of the Italian labour movement and of the Italian Socialist Party. During 1915-23 Director of the party's central organ, the newspaper *Avanti!* Headed the Italian delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern, was opposed to an unconditional break with the reformists. Eventually joined the Italian Communist Party.—387

Shadurskaya, Z. L. (b. 1873)—journalist. In 1918 worked in the Petrograd Food Committee then in other Soviet institutions and in the Comintern.—186

Shahumyan, Stepan Georgievich (1878-1918)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1900. At the Sixth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) (1917) elected to the Central Committee. After the October Revolution Acting Commissar Extraordinary for Affairs of the Caucasus, Chairman of the Baku Council of People's Commissars and simultaneously Commissar for Foreign Affairs. After the fall of the Baku Commune he was among the 26 commissars shot by the British interventionists.—93, 107-08, 111

Shamigulov, Gali Kamaletdinovich (1890-1959)—during 1919-20 a member of the Bashkir Regional Committee of the R.C.P.(B.), Chairman of the C.E.C. and the Council of People's Commissars of Bashkiria.—334

Shapovalov, Alexander Isidorovich (1871-1942)—veteran of the Russian revolutionary

movement; in 1894 a member of the Narodnaya Volya Party. In 1895 a member of the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, took part in the activities of the Bolshevik organisations abroad. In 1917 returned to Russia.—412

Shatelen, *Mikhail Andreyevich* (1866-1957)—electrician, distinguished scientist and engineer. Took part in the drafting of the GOELRO (electrification) plan.—375

Shatunovsky, *Yakov Moiseyevich* (1876-1932)—joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1918. A member of the Transport Commission of the Council of Labour and Defence, member of the Industrial Section of the State Planning Commission.—456-58

Shingaryov, *Andrei Ivanovich* (1869-1918)—Cadet. After the February 1917 revolution Minister for Agriculture in the first cabinet and Minister for Finance in the second cabinet of the bourgeois Provisional Government.—54

Shklovsky, *Grigory Lvovich* (1875-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. During 1918-25 Soviet diplomat.—106, 112, 160

Shlyapnikov, *Alexander Gavrilovich* (1885-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. After the October Revolution a member of the Council of People's Commissars in the capacity of P.C. for Labour, afterwards P.C. for Trade and Industry. In 1918 a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Southern Front, then Chairman of the R.M.C. of the Caspian-Caucasian Front.—50, 72, 86, 95, 103, 170, 184, 193

Shorin, *Alexander Fyodorovich* (1890-1941)—inventor in the field of radio-engineering, telegraphy and sound cinematography. In 1919 appointed Director of the Tsarskoye Selo radio station; worked at the Nizhni-Novgorod Radio Laboratory.—338

Shorin, *Vasily Ivanovich* (1870-1938)—officer in the tsarist army, served in the Red Army from 1918. Commanded the 2nd Army of the Eastern Front, the Special Group of the Southern, South-Eastern and Caucasian fronts. During 1920-21 Commander-in-Chief of the troops in Siberia.—288

Shotman, *Alexander Vasilievich* (1880-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1899. During 1911-12 a member of the Helsingfors Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Finland. In June 1917 became a member of the Petrograd Regional Committee of the Party. In August 1917 organised Lenin's passage to Finland from Razliv, where he was in hiding to escape persecution by the bourgeois Provisional Government. Took an active part in the October Revolution, after which held various business, administrative and Party posts.—388

Shreider, *A. A.*—Left Socialist-Revolutionary, in 1918 Deputy People's Commissar for Justice. A member of the Commission set up to draft the Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R.—77

Shumsky, *Alexander Yakovlevich* (1890-1946)—from 1909 to 1917 a member of the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionary Party. In 1918 a leader of the Borotbist Party. In 1920 admitted to membership of the R.C.P.(B.). Took part in the peace negotiations with Poland. Was a

member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 14th Army, Ambassador in Poland, People's Commissar for Education of the Ukraine (1924-27), Chairman of the C.C. of the Educational Workers' Union, elected to the C.C., C.P.(B.) of the Ukraine and the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. In 1933 expelled from the Party for nationalism.—360-61

Sklyansky, *Efraim Markovich* (1892-1925)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1913. From September 1918 to 1924 Deputy People's Commissar for Military Affairs and Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic.—131, 193, 216, 217, 222, 231, 233, 238, 239-40, 243, 248, 249-50, 254, 256, 259, 260, 262, 266, 274, 279, 280, 287, 292-93, 300, 322, 352, 402-03, 406, 408, 414, 416, 419, 432, 433, 440, 448, 456, 460-61

Skrypnik, *Nikolai Alexeyevich* (1872-1933)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1897. After the October Revolution People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian S.S.R., member of the Presidium of the Ukrainian C.E.C., member of the C.C., C.P.(B.) of the Ukraine, authorised agent of the Ukrainian Council of Defence, People's Commissar for Education of the Ukrainian S.S.R.—66

Slutsky, *Anton Iosifovich* (d. 1918)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1905. At the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets (November 1917) elected to the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. In March 1918 became Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Republic of Taurida (Crimea).—70

Sluvis, *MikhaiI Vasilievich* (b. 1888)—officer in the tsarist army, sided with the Soviets after the October Revolution. Became a member of the R.C.P.(B.) in November 1918. In 1918 he was commander of a division, in 1919 Commander of the 15th Army, then Commander of the 56th Rifle Division.—117

Smilga, *Ivar Tenisovich* (1892-1838)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1907. After the October Revolution authorised agent of the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. in Finland, then member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council. At the Seventh and Eighth congresses of the Party elected to the C.C.—118, 228, 246, 256, 265, 266, 270, 275, 280, 288, 302, 340, 341-42, 351, 409, 410, 414, 417-18, 420, 422

Smirnov, *Alexander Mikhailovich* (b. 1887)—member of the Militia and Legal commissions of the Samara City Council in 1917-18, on which he represented the Socialist-Revolutionaries. In June 1918 elected Mayor of Samara.—191

Smirnov, *Alexander Petrovich* (1877-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1896. After the October Revolution Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs; in 1918 authorised agent of the Council of People's Commissars in Saratov Gubernia for the procurement and dispatch of grain and other food freights. During 1919-22 Deputy People's Commissar for Food.—101, 110, 142

Smirnov, *Ivan Nikitich* (1881-1936)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1899. After the October Revolution a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Eastern Front, then of the 5th Army. In 1919 became Chairman of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee.—291, 295, 298, 307, 316-17, 322, 329, 342, 353, 385, 396, 402, 408, 436

Sokolnikov (*Brilliant*), *Grigory Yakovlevich* (1888-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. After the October Revolution filled diplomatic and military posts. Member of the Soviet delegation to the Brest peace negotiations. Later took part in the talks on economic questions with Germany. In December 1918 a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Southern Front.—67, 98-99, 216, 228-29, 230-31, 234, 248, 249, 275, 340

Sollogub, *Nikolai Vladimirovich* (1883-1937)—colonel in the tsarist army; in 1918 started service in the Red Army. Chief of Staff of the Eastern Front, member of the Supreme Military Inspection, Chief of the Operations Division of Army Headquarters of the Western Front, Commander of the 16th Army. In 1920 Chief of Staff of the Southern Front, and of the armed forces of the Ukraine and the Crimea.—264

Solovyov, *A. S.*—Manager of the Central Accounts Office of the Labour Departments of Moscow and Moscow Region.—50

Solovyov, *Zinovy Petrovich* (1876-1928)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. Organiser and theoretician of public health. In 1918 head of various medical bodies, a member of Medical Boards, Deputy People's Commissar for Health, Chairman of the Executive of the R.S.F.S.R. Red Cross, Chief of the Central Military Sanitary Administration of the Red Army (1920).—306, 372

Sosnovsky, *Lev Semyonovich* (1886-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. During 1918-24 editor of the newspaper *Byednota*.—257, 456-58

Spiridonova, *Maria Alexandrovna* (1884-1941)—one of the founders and leaders of the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Party. Came out against the signing of the Brest peace, took an active part in the Left S.R. revolt in July 1918, after the suppression of which she continued her hostile anti-Soviet activities.—84, 174

Stalin (*Jugashvili*), *Joseph Vissarionovich* (1879-1953)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. After the October Revolution elected to the Council of People's Commissars, where he headed the Commissariat for Nationalities. During the foreign intervention and Civil War a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, worked at various fronts. In 1922 elected General Secreraty of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.). In 1941 became Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, then of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R . During the Great Patriotic War (1941-45) Chairman of the State Committee of Defence, People's Commissar for Defence and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. In the position of General Secretary of the Party C.C., which he held for a long time, Stalin, together with

other leading functionaries exerted great efforts for the building of socialism, and played a major role in smashing various anti-Party trends, especially Trotskyism and Right opportunism. At the same time, associated with his name are the distortions in the life of Soviet society, which the Communist Party qualified as manifestations of the personality cult alien to Marxism-Leninism. The C.P.S.U. decidedly condemned the personality cult and took measures to prevent similar mistakes and distortions in future.—63, 70, 104, 105, 111, 151, 223, 230, 231, 242-43, 246-47, 250, 252, 253, 264, 265-66, 281, 283, 286, 340, 342, 343, 354, 360, 367, 378, 379, 381, 408, 409, 410

Stasova, *Yelena Dmitrievna* (1873-1966)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. From February 1917 to March 1920 Secretary of the Party's Central Committee.—246, 270, 275, 314, 316, 365

Steklov, *Yuri Mikhailovich* (1873-1941)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1893. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) joined the Bolsheviks. After the October Revolution editor of *Izvestia* member of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.—118

Sternberg, *Pavel Karlovich* (1865-1920)—astronomer. Participant in the revolutionary movement in Russia. During the October days headed the revolutionary forces of the Zamoskvorechye Revolutionary Committee in Moscow. After the October Revolution a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Education, member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the 2nd Army and the Eastern Front.—298.

Strasser, *Josef* (b. 1871)—Austrian politician, Left Social-Democrat. Joined the Communist Party in 1918.—162

Strievsky, *K. K.* (1884-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. In 1918 Food Commissar of Petrograd. During 1919-21 Chief of Food Supply of the South-Eastern, Western, Petrograd and Caucasian fronts.—167

Ström, *Fredrik* (1880-1948)—Swedish Left Social-Democrat author and publicist. During 1918-20 Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*.—326

Struve, *Nina Alexandrovna* (1874-1943)—the wife of P. B. Struve and daughter of the pedagogue A. Y. Gerd. After the October Revolution emigrated abroad.—188

Struve, *Pyotr Bernhardovich* (1870-1944)—bourgeois economist and publicist, a leader of the Cadet Party, member of the counter-revolutionary government of Wrangel, a White émigré.—187

Stucka, *Pyotr Ivanovich* (1865-1932)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. After the October Revolution People's Commissar for Justice, during 1918-19 Chairman of the Soviet Government of Latvia, then Deputy People's Commissar for Justice of the R.S.F.S.R.—196

Sundukov, *Fyodor Stepanovich* (b. 1892)—joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1918. During 1918-20 fought at the Urals Front in the 25th Chapayev Rifle Division, commanded the 1st Urals Regiment, headed a section of the Urals Fortified Area.—308

Surkov, *Pyotr Ilyich* (1876-1946)—deputy to the Third Duma from the workers of Kostroma Gubernia; member of the Social-Democratic parliamentary group. After the October Revolution worked in various Soviet institutions.—175, 179

Sverdlov, *Veniamin Mikhailovich* (1886-1940)—in 1918 Commissar of the Exploitation Board of the People's Commissariat for Railways. From 1919 to 1920 Deputy People's Commissar for Railways and Chairman of the Supreme Council for Transport. Subsequently member of the Board of the Supreme Economic Council worked in the Mining and Science and Technology departments of the Supreme Economic Council.—440-41

Sverdlov, *Yakov Mikhailovich* (1885-1919)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. During 1917-19 head of the Secretariat of the C.C. From November 1917 Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.—44, 72-73, 102, 146 147, 159, 165, 198

Svidersky, *Alexander Ivanovich* (1878-1933)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1899. After the October Revolution a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Food, member of the Board of the Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.—99, 199, 258, 270 327, 362

Syromolotov, *Fyodor Fyodorovich* (b. 1877)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1897. After the October Revolution member of the Board of the Supreme Economic Council, member of the Narrow Council of People's Commissars and of the Board of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R.—292, 454

Sytin, *Pavel Pavlovich* (1870-1938)—general in the tsarist army, joined the Soviets after the October Revolution. In 1918 commanded a group of Bryansk detachments, then Commander of the Southern Front, Chief of the Military Administrative Department of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic.—88, 157

T

Taneyev, *Vladimir Ivanovich* (1840-1921)—Russian public figure, socialist, lawyer. From 1866 onwards counsel for the defence in a number of political trials.—218-19

Teodorovich, *Ivan Adolfovich* (1875-1940)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1895 a Bolshevik. During the Civil War fought in partisan detachments against Kolchak. In 1920 started work in the Commissariat for Agriculture.—446

Ter-Petrosyan, *S. A.* (*Kamo*) (1882-1922)—one of the organisers of Bolshevik militant activities under tsarism. After the February 1917 revolution worked in Transcaucasia. In 1919 led a combat group operating behind Denikin's lines. At the beginning of 1920 arrested by the Menshevik Georgian government. After his release carried on underground activities in Baku and took an active part in organising the uprising of the Baku proletariat.—280, 314

Tomsky, *Mikhail Pavlovich* (1880-1936)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. After the October Revolution Chairman

of the Moscow Council of Trade Unions. In 1919 became Chairman of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions. At the Eight Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) elected to the Party's Central Committee, at the Eleventh Congress elected member of the Politbureau of the C.C. Came out repeatedly against the Party's Leninist policy.—202

Tonkov, *V. N.* (1872-1954)—distinguished Soviet scientist, anatomist. From 1917 to 1925 head of the Military Medical Academy.—283

Torniainen, *Eduard*—Finnish Social-Democrat, journalist. Took part in the workers' revolution in Finland in 1918; after its defeat he resided in the U.S.S.R.—226

Trèves, *Claudio* (1868-1933)—a reformist leader of the Italian Socialist Party. After the split in the I.S.P. (1922) became one of the leaders of the reformist Unitary Socialist Party.—445

Trilisser, *David Abramovich* (1884-1934)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. In 1920 Secretary of the Petrograd Gubernia Executive Committee, then Chairman of the Volodarsky District Soviet in Petrograd.—394

Trotsky (*Bronstein*), *Lev Davidovich* (1879-1940)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1897, a Menshevik. From 1902 an émigré; returned to Russia after the February 1917 revolution; at the Sixth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) admitted to membership of the Bolshevik Party, elected to its C.C. Trotsky, however, did not accept Bolshevism and waged a covert and overt struggle against Lenin and against the Party's policies. After the October Revolution People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, member of the C.C. Politbureau and of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. In 1918 was opposed to the signing of the Brest Peace Treaty; during 1920-21 led the opposition in the trade union discussion; from 1923 conducted a bitter factional struggle against the Party's general line, against the Leninist programme of socialist construction. The Communist Party denounced Trotskyism as a petty-bourgeois deviation within the Party and defeated it both ideologically and organisationally. In 1927 Trotsky was expelled from the Party, and in 1929 deported from the U.S.S.R. for anti-Soviet activities.—57, 61, 95, 117, 119, 129, 135, 146, 147, 157, 163, 170, 171, 172, 176, 181, 189, 191, 203, 220, 229, 231, 233, 238, 241, 245, 246, 249, 255, 270, 271, 273, 276, 281, 282, 286, 294, 296, 297, 299, 300, 301, 321, 332, 335, 342, 353, 354, 365, 373, 381, 383, 428, 429, 440, 441, 444, 459

Tsyurupa, *Alexander Dmitrievich* (1870-1928)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. After the October Revolution Deputy People's Commissar and from the beginning of 1918 People's Commissar for Food. At the end of 1921 Deputy Chairman or the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labour and Defence.—76, 82, 85, 86, 89, 90, 95, 100, 101,

105, 109, 121, 124, 125, 127 130-31, 145, 188, 207, 221, 258 306, 340, 365, 391, 402

Tukhachevsky, Mikhail Nikolayevich (1893-1937)—joined the R.C.P.(B) in 1918. From 1918 to 1919 commanded the 1st 5th and 8th armies. At the beginning of 1920 Commander of the Caucasian, then the Western Front. In 1921 Chief of the Military Academy of the Red Army, in January 1922 appointed Commander of the Western Front, afterwards Deputy Chief of Staff of the Red Army, Commander of the Western Military District. In 1931 Deputy People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs and Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the U.S.S.R. Marshal of the Soviet Union.—340, 379, 409

Turati, Filippo (1857-1932)—a leader of the Italian labour movement, one of the organisers of the Italian Socialist Party, leader of its Right reformist wing. After the split in the I.S.P. (1922) headed the reformist Unitary Socialist Party.—387

Turlo, Stanislav Stepanovich (1889-1942)—joined the R.S.D.L.P in 1905. After the October Revolution Chairman of the Rostov-Nakhichevan Committee, member of the Don Regional Executive Committee; in July 1918 Deputy Chairman of the Penza Gubernia Party Committee and Chairman of the Gubernia Executive Committee—140

Tyrkov, Arkady Vladimirovich (1859-1924)—member of the Narodnaya Volya Party, which he joined in 1879; arrested in 1881 for taking part in the attempted assassination of Alexander II; served his term of imprisonment in the Peter and Paul Fortress. In 1883 exiled to Eastern Siberia.—390

U

Ulyanova, Maria Ilyinichna (1878-1937)—Lenin's younger sister; joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. From March 1917 to the spring of 1929 a member of the editorial board and the executive secretary of the newspaper *Pravda*.—384

Unschlicht, Iosif Stanislavovich (1879-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1900. During the October Revolution a member of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee. In 1918 a member of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Lithuania and Byelorussia, People's Commissar for Military Affairs of Lithuania and Byelorussia. In 1919 a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 16th Army Western Front, and the R.M.C. of the U.S.S.R., Chief of Red Army Supplies, Deputy People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs. From 1930 to 1935 held posts in the Supreme Economic Council and the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R.; Chief of the Central Administration of the Civil Air Fleet. In 1935 elected Secretary of the Union Council of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.—356

Uratadze, Grigory Illarionovich (b. 1879)—during Menshevik rule in Georgia one of the leaders of the Menshevik Party; in 1919 a member of the Georgian Constituent Assembly. In May 1920 authorised agent

of the Georgian Menshevik government for signing a peace treaty with the R.S.F.S.R. After the establishment of Soviet rule in Georgia he emigrated.—367

Ursin, *Nils Robert* (1854-1936)—a prominent leader of the Finnish labour movement, took part in the organisation of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Finland (1899) and was one of its leaders. Translated a number of works of Marx and Engels into Finnish. A participant in the workers revolution in Finland in 1918. After its suppression he was deprived of civic rights. From 1918 to 1922 lived abroad as a political emigrant.—312

V

Vanderlip, *Washington B.* (b. 1866)—engineer; came to Soviet Russia in 1920 as a representative of American industrial circles with an offer to sign an agreement for oil and coal concessions in Kamchatka.—423

Vandervelde, *Emile* (1886-1938)—leader of the Belgian Workers' Party, Chairman of the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International. During the First World War a member of the bourgeois government.—155, 158, 160

Vasilchenko, *Semyon Filippovich* (1884-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. In 1917 Chairman of the Rostov-Nakhichevan Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.). At the beginning of 1918 a member of the Regional Committee of the Bolsheviks of the Donets-Krivoi Rog Basin, and Commissar for Administrative Affairs in the Government of the Donets-Krivoi Rog Republic. From 1921 engaged in the publishing business in Moscow—70-71

Vatsetis, *Ioakim Ioakimovich* (1873-1938)—colonel in the tsarist army. After the October Revolution sided with the Soviets. Helped to suppress the Left S.R. revolt in Moscow in the capacity of Commander of the Lettish Rifle Division. Subsequently Commander of the Eastern Front. From September 1918 to July 1919 Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the R.S.F.S.R.—122, 135, 163, 172, 181, 189, 191, 194, 215, 220, 222, 240, 259

Vedernikov, *Alexei Stepanovich* (1880-1919)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1897. After the February 1917 revolution a member of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet. In October 1917 a member of the Moscow Military Revolutionary Committee. In 1918 Commissar of the Vyksa and Kulebaki factories in Nizhni-Novgorod Gubernia.—97

Velichkina (*Bonch-Bruyevich*), *Vera Mikhailovna* (1868-1918)—began revolutionary activities in the 1890s. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) she joined the Bolsheviks. From the very beginning of the October Revolution she worked in the Medical and Sanitary Department of the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, in the Council of Medical Collegiums and subsequently headed the School Sanitary Council under the People's Commissariat for Education. In 1918 she became a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Health.—79, 80, 150

Vera Mikhailovna—see *Velichkina, V. M.*

Vever, Ernest Yakovlevich (1882-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917; during the October days a worker Red Guard. From 1918 to 1924 Manager of the Gorki Sanatorium.—391

Viik, Karl Harald (1883-1946)—Finnish Social-Democrat. From 1909 to 1940, with short intervals, member of the Executive, and from 1926 to 1936 Secretary of the Social-Democratic Party of Finland. During the workers' revolution in Finland in 1918 he was a member of the revolutionary government—the Council of People's Representatives.—59

Vinnichenko, Vladimir Kirillovich (1880-1951)—Ukrainian writer, bourgeois nationalist, a leader of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Workers' Party—a Menshevik nationalist organisation. After the February 1917 revolution one of the organisers and leaders of the counter-revolutionary Ukrainian Central Rada, afterwards, together with Petlyura, headed the Directory (the nationalist government of the Ukraine in 1918-19). After the establishment of Soviet power in the Ukraine he emigrated.—70, 372

Vinogradov, Alexander Alexandrovich (b. 1883)—teacher, active participant in the struggle to establish Soviet power in Vesyegonsk Uyezd, Tver Gubernia. In 1920 he became Chairman of the Vesyegonsk Uyezd Trade Union of Educational Workers.—348

Vinogradov, Pavlin Fyodorovich (1890-1918)—worker of the Sestroretsk Small Arms Factory. In 1917 took part in the storming of the Winter Palace. In February 1918 he was sent to Archangel to organise food relief for Petrograd; was elected Deputy Chairman of the Archangel Gubernia Executive Committee.—79

Vladimirov (*Sheinfinkel*), *Miron Konstantinovich* (1879-1925)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. In 1919 Military Commissar Extraordinary of the Railways and Chairman of the Special Food Commission of the Southern Front; in 1921 People's Commissar for Food of the Ukraine; in 1922 People's Commissar for Finance of the R.S.F.S.R.; in November 1924 appointed Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council of the U.S.S.R.—189, 198, 276, 322-23

Vladimirsky, Mikhail Fyodorovich (1874-1951)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1895, a Bolshevik. After the October Revolution a member of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R., Secretary of the C.C., C.P.(B.) of the Ukraine and held other posts.—283, 369

Volin, Boris Mikhailovich (1886-1957)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. During the October 1917 days Chairman of the Military Revolutionary Committee of Zamoskvorechye District (Moscow). During 1918-21 Chairman of the Gubernia Executive Committees in Orel Kostroma and Kharkov, Secretary of the Bryansk Gubernia Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) and Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian S.S.R.—166

Volny, *Ivan* (*Vladimirov*, *I. Y.*) (1885-1931)—Russian writer. Joined the Socialist-Revolutionary Party in 1903. In 1908, for an attempt on the life of a Mtsensk police officer, he was deported to Siberia, whence he escaped abroad. On the Isle of Capri he met Maxim Gorky, under whose influence he began to draw away from the S.R.s. He returned to Russia in 1917.—210, 301

Volodicheva, *Maria Akimovna* (b. 1881)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. After the October Revolution up to July 1918 Secretary of the Press Bureau of the Council of People's Commissars. From 1918 to 1924 a typist in the Council, assistant secretary of the Council of Labour and Defence and the Council of People's Commissars.—376

Voroshilov, *Kliment Yefremovich* (1881-1969)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. During 1918-19 Commander of the Tsaritsyn Front, Deputy Commander and member of the Military Council of the Southern Front, Commander of the 10th Army. In December 1918 People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the Ukraine, then Commander of the troops of the Kharkov Military District, Commander of the 14th Army and the Ukrainian home front. From 1919 to 1921 member of the Revolutionary Military Council and one of the organisers of the 1st Mounted Army. From 1925 People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs and Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the U.S.S.R.; afterwards People's Commissar for Defence. From 1953 to May 1960 Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.—157, 237, 238, 241

Vorovsky, *Vatslav Vatslavovich* (1871-1923)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1894, professional revolutionary. After the October Revolution Ambassador of the Soviet Republic in the Scandinavian countries (1917-19); from 1919 to 1920 Manager of Gosizdat (State Publishers), then on diplomatic work in Italy (1921-23).—50, 131, 151, 155, 272, 337, 382, 397, 402, 424

Voyevodin, *Pyotr Ivanovich* (1884-1964)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1899. In 1919 authorised agent of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) and Political Commissar of the propaganda train "October Revolution". In 1920 Chief Commissar of the Moscow-Windau-Rybinsk Railway.—269-70

Voznesensky, *A. N.*—in 1920 head of the Eastern Department of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.—414

W

Weissbrot, *Boris Solomonovich* (1874-1942)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904; a surgeon by profession. During 1919-20 Chairman of the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Epidemics on the Turkestan and South-Western fronts.—162, 303, 312, 313

Wijnkoop, *David* (1877-1941)—Dutch Social-Democrat, afterwards a Communist. In 1909 was one of the founders and Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of Holland (the "Tribunists"), which took the name of Communist Party of Holland in 1918. A leader of the party, he occupied an ex-

treme Left, sectarian position.—400

Williams, Albert Rhys (1883-1962)—American publicist and journalist. Came to Russia in the summer of 1917; was an eyewitness and participant of the October Revolution, took part in the storming of the Winter Palace. In January 1918 organised an international detachment for the defence of the Soviets, fought on the Civil War fronts. Revisited the U.S.S.R. on numerous occasions—97

Wilmi, Otto (1881-1938)—participant in the workers' revolution in Finland in 1918; one of the organisers of the Communist Party of Finland and a member of its Central Committee. After the defeat of the revolution in Finland he lived in the U S.S.R. Joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1918.—226

Wilson, Woodrow (1856-1924)—President of the U.S.A. from 1913 to 1920. One of the organisers of military intervention by the imperialist powers against Soviet Russia.—159, 191, 224-25

Wise, Edward Frank (1885-1933)—English politician. From 1914 to 1918 worked as Secretary of the Russia Relief Committee and in other relief organisations. During 1919-20 member of the British delegation to the Allied Supreme Economic Council, took part in the talks for establishing Anglo-Soviet trade relations (1920-21)—386

Wrangel, Pyotr Nikolayevich (1878-1928)—general in the tsarist army. During the foreign military intervention and Civil War, the henchman of the Anglo-French and American imperialists, one of the leaders of the counter-revolution in the south of Russia. From April to November 1920 Commander-in-Chief of the white-guard "Armed Forces of the South of Russia"; after his defeat at the hands of the Red Army he fled the country.—373, 378, 408, 409, 428, 444

X

X—see *Serafimovich, A. S.*

Y

Yakovlev—officer who deserted from Wrangel's army.—428

Yakovlev, Ivan Yakovlevich (1848-1930)—distinguished Chuvash teacher and enlightener; author and translator, originator of the Chuvash alphabet.

Yakovlev, Nikolai Nikolayevich (1886-1918)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. A leader of the struggle to establish Soviet power in Siberia and organiser of the Red Guard in Siberia. In February 1918 Chairman of the C.E.C. of Siberian Soviets (Centrosibir).—75

Yakovlev, (Epstein), Yakov Arkadievich (1896-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1913. Took part in the October Revolution and Civil War in the Ukraine. Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee in Kharkov, Secretary of the Ekaterinoslav and Kiev Gubernia Party Committees, Chief of the Political Department of the 14th Army.—364

Yakubov, Arshak Stepanovich (1882-1923)—joined the

R.S.D.L.P. in 1900. After the October Revolution a member of the Board of the R.S.F.S.R. Food Commissariat, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, People's Commissar for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the Ukraine.—103

Yaroslavsky, Yemelyan (1878-1943)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. Participant in the October Revolution. After the Revolution engaged in Party work. Author of a number of works on the history of the Communist Party and the revolutionary movement in Russia.—173, 263, 346-47

Yaroshenko, Nikolai Alexandrovich (1846-1898)—noted Russian painter.—188

Yefremov, D. I. (*Steiman, M. Y.*) (1881-1925)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. From May to September 1918 Secretary of the Moscow Committee of the Party; from September 1918 to October 1919 a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 10th Army.—248

Yenukidze, Avel Safronovich (1877-1937)—Soviet statesman; joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. After the October Revolution worked in the Military Department of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. In 1918 became Secretary of the All-Russia C.E.C.—312

Yermakov, V. S. (b. 1888)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. During the Civil War acted as Commissar on the Southern (1919) and Eastern (1920) fronts, authorised agent of the Special Committee of the Council of Defence for introducing martial law on the railways, and authorised agent for combating banditism in the south (1922).—336

Yudenich, Nikolai Nikolayevich (1862-1933)—general in the tsarist army. After the October Revolution a member of the counter-revolutionary "North-Western Government", Commander-in-Chief of the white-guard North-Western Army. In 1919 made two unsuccessful attempts to capture Petrograd. Routed by the Red Army in November 1919.—296, 299, 300, 307, 309, 319

Yumagulov, Haris Yumagulovich (1891-1937)—during 1919-20 Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Bashkir Republic.—333

Yunosov, Konstantin Andreyevich (b. 1884)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. In 1918 Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Uyezd Soviet; in 1919 member of the Petrograd Gubernia Executive Committee, then Chairman of the G.E.C.—289

Yurenev, Konstantin Konstantinovich (1888-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. In 1919 a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Eastern Front, then of the Western.—243, 258

Z

Zalkind, I. A. (1885-1928)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. In November 1917 worked in the R.S.F.S.R. People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. From May to November 1918 a member of the Soviet Mission in Switzerland.—160

Zaslavsky, David Iosifovich (1880-1965)—journalist. Joined the revolutionary movement in 1900. In 1903 joined the Bund

and in 1917 was elected to its Central Committee. During 1917-18 came out against the Bolsheviks. In 1919 revised his political opinions and supported the Soviet government. —46, 47

Zasulich, *Vera Ivanovna* (1849-1919)—prominent member of the Narodnik and subsequently Social-Democratic movement in Russia. Took part in the foundation and activities of the Emancipation of Labour group. In 1900 a member of the editorial board of *Iskra* and *Zarya*. At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) sided with the Iskrist minority. After the Second Congress became a leader of Menshevism.—195

Zatonsky, *Vladimir Petrovich* (1880-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in March 1917. A leader of the October armed uprising in Kiev. In November 1917 Chairman of the Kiev Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.). In December 1917 became a member of the Ukrainian Soviet Government. Afterwards Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Ukraine. In March 1919 appointed People's Commissar for Education of the Ukraine. During 1919-20 a member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the 12th, 13th and 14th armies and of the R.M.C. of the South-Western Front. —66, 337, 419

Zax, *Bernhard Henrichovich* (b. 1886)—in 1918 worked in the People's Commissariat for Finance. During 1921-22 Assistant Business Manager of the Council of Labour and Defence. —108, 115

Zinoviev (*Radomyslsky*), *Grigory Yevseyevich* (1883-1936)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. From 1908 to April 1917 a political emigrant; member of the Central Committee and of the editorial board of the Party's central organ, *Sotsial-Demokrat*. When the October Revolution was in the making, he vacillated and came out against an armed uprising. A statement published by Kamenev in his own name and that of Zinoviev in the semi-Menshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* disagreeing with the resolution of the Central Committee on the armed uprising was divulgence of a secret decision of the Party and a betrayal of the revolution. After the October Revolution he was Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, and member of the C.C. Politbureau, besides holding a number of other posts. Repeatedly came out against the Party's Leninist policy, in 1925 one of the organisers of the New Opposition; in 1926 a leader of the anti-Party Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc. Expelled from the Party in November 1927 for factional activities; afterwards twice reinstated and re-expelled.—61-62, 96-97, 102-03, 104, 110, 114, 164-65, 167-68, 172, 179, 186, 195, 212, 218, 221, 231, 240, 242, 247, 250, 253, 273, 278, 286, 288, 294, 297-98, 299, 301-02, 305, 309, 316, 321, 349, 392, 395, 397-99, 415, 422, 441, 443

Zul, *B. G.*—in 1919 head of the Political Department of the Southern Group of the Eastern Front, subsequently member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 4th Army of the Turkestan Front and member of the R.M.C. of the 13th Army.—309

Zurabov, *Arshak Georgievich* (1873-1920)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1892. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) a Bolshevik, later joined the Mensheviks. After the October Revolution fought against the Mensheviks and Dashnaks in Transcaucasia, for the establishment of Soviet power.—47

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На английскот языке